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Walter L. Wells Ph. Sc.

Jeanne d'Arc.

From a miniature of the Fifteenth Century in the Collection of M. Georges Spetz

THE MAID OF FRANCE

BEING THE STORY OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JEANNE D'ARC

BY

ANDREW LANG

WITH PORTRAITS

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FIFTH IMPRESSION

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PREFACE

JEANNE D'ARC, during her nineteen years of life, was a cause of contention among her own countrymen, and her memory divides them to the present day. In her life she was of course detested as a witch and heretic by the French of the Burgundian faction. After her death, her memory was distasteful to all writers who disbelieved in her supernormal faculties, and in her inspiration. She had no business to possess faculties for which science could not account, and which common sense could not accept.

To-day, the quarrel over her character and career is especially bitter. If the Church canonises her, the Church is said, by the "Anticlericals," to "confiscate" her, and to stultify itself. Her courage and her goodness of heart are denied by no man, but, as a set-off against the praises of the "clericals," and even of historians far from orthodox, her genius is denied, or is minimised; she is represented as a martyr, a heroine, a puzzle-pated hallucinated lass, a perplexed wanderer in a realm of dreams; the unconscious tool of fraudulent priests, herself once doubtfully honest, apt to tell great palpable myths to her own glorification, never a leader in war, but only a kind of *mascotte*, a "little saint," and a *béguine*—in breeches!

It has appeared to me that all these inconsistent views of the Maid, and several charges against her best friends, are mainly based on erroneous readings of the copious evidence concerning her; on mistakes in the translating of the very bad Latin of the documents, and, generally, are distorted by a false historical perspective, if not by an unconscious hostility, into the grounds of which we need not inquire. I have therefore written

this book in the hope that grave errors, as I deem them, may be corrected; and also because, as far as I am aware, no British author has yet attempted to write a critical biography of the Maid. Of course, there no longer remains, in England, a shadow of prejudice against the stainless heroine and martyr. It has pleased the Chanoine Dunand, however, in his long biography of *La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, and in his learned but prolix series of *Études Critiques*, to speak of "the English," and the "Franco-English" schools of History. Masters and disciples in these schools, it appears, are apt to defend the regularity and the legality of her trial in 1431, and to deny to her the possession of "heroic" virtues.

The English masters of history who do this thing are not named by the Chanoine Dunand. It is, indeed, easy to show that, in the age of the Maid, and later, England had practically no historian, no contemporary chronicler. When Fabyan, Holinshed, and Polydore Virgil, a century later, wrote concerning Jeanne d'Arc, they drew their information, not from our archives (which are mute, save for one allusion to Jeanne), nor from English chroniclers contemporary with the Maid (for there is but a page of Caxton, written fifty years after date), not from the *Procès* of the Trial of Condemnation and the Trial of Rehabilitation, but from the French chroniclers of the Burgundian party, such as Monstrelet; and from later antipathetic French historians, like du Haillan. The Elizabethan historians were, of course, full of hostile national prejudice, they neglected the French chroniclers of her own party—if these were accessible to them—and the result was the perplexity, the chaotic uncertainty about the Maid, which is so conspicuous in the dubiously Shakespearean play, *Henry VI*, Part I, and is confessed in the remarks of the jocular Thomas Fuller, as late as 1642.

But, in the middle of the eighteenth century, David Hume, in the spirit of the Scottish chroniclers who were contemporaries of the Maid, fully recognised the nobility of her character, and the iniquity of her condemnation. Though Hume was no English-

man, his History was widely read in England, and from his day onwards, perhaps Dr. Lingard, a Catholic, has been alone in taking an unworthy view of Jeanne d'Arc.

In 1790 appeared the books of François de L'Averdy on the manuscript records of the two trials. Henceforth the facts were accessible, and Jeanne d'Arc inspired both Coleridge and Southey with poems in her honour; to be sure the inspiration did not result in anything worthy of her greatness. From that period it would be difficult to find any English historian who has applauded the regularity, or palliated the illegalities, of her condemnation, or who, save Lingard, has failed to recognise her heroism. But authors of general histories of England can give but limited space to the glorious Maid who emancipated France; and while America has a critical and valuable *Life of Joan of Arc*,—that by Mr. Francis Lowell,—England has none that is critical and complete, and informed by documents brought to light since the time when Jules Quicherat published the five volumes entitled *Procès de Jeanne d'Arc* (1840–1850). We have, indeed, the short but good monograph of Miss Tuckey, and a book by Lord Ronald Leveson-Gower, with a recent translation of the *Procès*, while brief stories of the life of the Maid for children are common, and excite the enthusiasm and the pity of little boys and girls. But a work based on a study of all the documents, and equipped with full references, has been still to seek.

I have therefore tried to fill this empty place in our book-shelves, and to depict, however feebly, this glory of her sex, "a Star of ancient France."

There is no Englishman alive who, from obsolete national prejudice, would try to diminish her greatness, or to palliate the shameful iniquity of his ancestors in all their relations with her. But a Scot is especially devoid of temptation to defend Cauchon, Warwick, Bedford, and the rest of "our old enemies of England." The Scots did not buy or sell, or try, or condemn, or persecute, or burn, or—most shameful of all—bear witness

against and desert the Maid. The Scots stood for her always with pen as with sword.

The historical evidence for the career of the Maid is rich, multifarious, and of many degrees of comparative excellence. In the front stands the official record of her trial at Rouen in 1431. On each day of her trial, the clerks of the Court took down in French her replies to the questions of the judges and assessors. The French version was, later, officially rendered into Latin, with all the other proceedings: and certain posthumous documents were added. The whole book is official, the work of her enemies. How far it is fair and honest is a question to be discussed in the text. At all events we have here a version of what Jeanne herself told her judges, as to her own life, and as to future events. Next we have letters dictated by her, and letters written about her, during her active career, from April 1429 to May 1430. These are of varying value: the News Letters of the age, French, Italian, and German, answer to the letters of Foreign Correspondents in our newspaper press. Some are full of false gossip.

As to the politics of the period we have diplomatic documents, treaties, memoirs, and despatches. We also possess notes in the contemporary account books of various towns, and the jottings of contemporary diarists, well or ill informed, as the case may be.

The historical chronicles concerning the Maid date from 1430 to 1470: some are by friendly French, some by hostile Burgundian hands. Their evidence needs to be studied critically, with an eye on the probable sources of information of each chronicler. The mystery play, *Mistère du Siège d'Orléans*, is a late poetical chronicle (*circ.* 1470?). A few facts may be gleaned from works even later than 1470, when the writer's sources of information are mentioned and seem to be good.

Finally we have the records of the Trial of Rehabilitation (1450–1456), with the sworn evidence of more than a hundred and forty eye-witnesses, who knew the Maid at various periods from her infancy to her martyrdom. In judging their depositions, we must make careful allowance for errors of bias, for illusions

of memory, and for the natural desire of persons who took part in her trial to shield themselves, and to throw blame on her judges and their assessors who were by that time dead, or for any reason were not able to speak for themselves.

The main defect of the Trial of Rehabilitation is the singular fact that only two witnesses testified to any event in the life of the Maid between the failure at Paris, in September 1429, and her capture in May 1430. No questions on this period were put, for example, to her confessor, Pasquerel, and her equerry, d'Aulon, an omission which cannot be defended, even if it was caused by a desire to spare the feelings of the King, Charles VII. His conduct, and his diplomacy, from his Coronation to the capture of the Maid, must for him have been full of tormenting memories. I have also suggested in the text, that as the Maid, like any other leader, certainly assured her men of success, "fight on, you will have them!" on occasions when they were not successful, the inquirers in 1450–1456 may have shrunk from asking "Did Jeanne utter these promises as the predictions of her Saints?" We have only her own denial.

The evidence of the cloud of witnesses in 1450–1456 is commonly disparaged by the scientific spirit. Even Quicherat wrote: "The depositions of the witnesses have the air, for the most part, of having undergone numerous retrenchments," of having been "cut," as we say, or garbled. Quicherat gives no proof of this; and none is visible to me. On certain important points, such as "What did Jeanne do at Paris, La Charité, Lagny, Melun, and Compiègne?" no questions were asked, though her judges in 1431 had accused her of several misdeeds at these places.

Nothing was asked as to her leap from the tower (or her attempt to let herself down from a window of the tower) at Beaurevoir. These omissions are a great blot on the Trial of Rehabilitation, but that the judges cut and garbled the replies to questions actually put is a mere baseless assertion.[1]

[1] See Dunand, *La Société de l'Histoire de France, Jules Quicherat, et Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 157–168, 1908, and Quicherat, *Aperçus Nouveaux*, 1850.

Quicherat had said, "The judges at the Rehabilitation were probity itself." Yet he also says that they seem to have garbled "the majority of the depositions"!

M. Anatole France is specially severe on the Trial of Rehabilitation, though he freely quotes the depositions.

In the first place, the witnesses merely answered the questions put to them "in the course of ecclesiastical justice." Certainly we now should put many other questions.

Secondly, "the majority of the witnesses are excessively simple and lacking in discernment." They were men and women of their own time, not savants of our time—that is undeniable!

Again, Pasquerel misplaces the sequence of certain events, it is true, but so does M. Anatole France on several occasions, as we shall try to show.

The deposition of Dunois "must have been mishandled by the translator and the scribes," as when he speaks of "the strong force of the enemy." But Bedford, the English commander-in-chief, also says that the English at Orleans were numerous, before the men began to desert. Their numbers were reduced by desertions, but if Dunois overestimated them, how often, in the South African war, did our leaders make the same mistake as to the enemy! The other sins of Dunois are either no sins at all, or are easily pardonable, and the burden of them need not be thrown on translator or scribe.

As to the witnesses who had been assessors, scribes, or officers of the Court in 1431, "all these ink-pots of the Church who had fashioned the documents for the death of the Maid, showed as much zeal in destroying it," in 1450–1456. Let that be granted; it does not follow that the evidence, for example, of Manchon is false. The witnesses say that they were terrorised by Cauchon and the English, and perhaps nobody doubts that they did go in fear. Poor clerks and officials, it is part of the injustice of the trial of 1431 that they were threatened and bullied. "They denounced the cruel iniquity which they had themselves put in good and proper form." The form, in fact, is not so good and

proper: one document the scribes refused to sign, and unsigned it remains.

Probably few penmen, even now, would have the courage to throw up their duties and their livelihood, and incur a fair chance of being cast into dungeons, or into the river, because they disliked their work. The scribes did their task: they were not heroes. Had they been heroes, we should not have had their evidence.

"A pair of lamentable monks, Brother Martin Ladvenu and Brother Isambart de la Pierre, wept bitterly while they told of the pious death of the poor Maid whom they had declared heretic, then relapsed, and had burned alive."

There is no evidence that the two monks wept while they gave their testimony; at the last, they did *not*—unconditionally—declare Jeanne heretic; to burn her or to save her they had no more power than I who write. That power was in the hands of Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais. At the same time I regard with suspicion several parts of the evidence of these two lamentable monks, and "the ink-pots of the Church."

"The captains said that Jeanne was expert in placing guns, when they knew that it was untrue."

One captain, d'Alençon, swore to her skill in artillery, and M. Anatole France knows that this witness deliberately perjured himself. Less omniscient, I know not how he knows; or what his acquaintance with mediæval artillery may be; but I suspect, from examination of a contemporary breech-loading field-piece, that any one with a good eye and a little practice could do what was needed. Many women are good shots.

"The effort was made to prove that Jeanne was destitute of intelligence, to show that the Holy Spirit was more manifest in her." M. Anatole France himself does not credit the Maid with much intelligence (*esprit*), but many of the witnesses did. "The examiners led the witnesses to keep repeating that the Maid was simple, very simple." He himself gives the same opinion: often.

Many said that she was chaste. Does any mortal deny it? Some of her companions vowed that she did not excite their

passions. Is that, considering their deep reverence and regard for the Maid, a thing incredible? Naturally her enemies were not affected in the same way.

"Sometimes the clerks content themselves with saying that one witness deposed like the preceding witness." Nothing was more usual in the records of *secular* trials one hundred and forty years later, as in the trial of the accomplices of Bothwell in Darnley's murder.[1]

It is proper to notice these objections to the evidence of 1450–1456. We shall use it with the warning that, in twenty-five years, human memories are apt to be fallacious; that the bias of the witnesses was favourable to the Maid; and that some witnesses had to excuse their own share in the trial of 1431, and to exhibit the judges, mainly Cauchon and the accuser, in the most unfavourable light. But we shall not accuse the captains of deliberate perjury, out of our own will and fantasy.

Mr. Frederick Myers, when studying the Maid in the light of psychical research,[2] spoke of the records of the Trial of Rehabilitation as practically worthless. The events were too "remote" for evidence given twenty-five years later to be trustworthy. I venture to think that he rated the powers of memory too low, when he thought that, in a quarter of a century, all witnesses would necessarily err as to the most impressive experience of their lives, their acquaintance with Jeanne d'Arc. The psychical researcher feels bound to take it for granted that strange affairs will be unconsciously exaggerated by memory, after twenty-five years. There are, in fact, two tendencies; one man exaggerates, another begins to doubt, when the first freshness of his impression has been worn off, and he minimises. But every reader of the Trial of Rehabilitation must see that the witnesses, in 1450–1456, are usually sparing in marvels, except Pasquerel and Dunois. We hear from them of no miracles attributed to Jeanne, though Dunois obviously regarded the fortunate change of the wind on

[1] Cf. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. pp. xx.–xxx., vol. ii. pp. 445–452.

[2] *Human Personality*. Cf. Index, *Jeanne d'Arc*.

the Loire, on April 28, 1429, as verging on miracle. Pasquerel exaggerated its effects; and also said that, on May 6, Jeanne named the day and the place of her arrow-wound. Very possibly his memory deceived him. But witnesses say nothing of the clairvoyance about Rouvray fight, or about the sword at Fierbois; about the Maid's knowledge of the King's secret they could not, of course, say anything definite. They never mention her saintly visitors. The only hagiographic marvels are negligible; and are connected with the martyrdom. The contemporary tales (1429) about marvels at the time of the birth of Jeanne, are not repeated by the witnesses from Domremy: about these marvels no questions were asked.

Every writer on Jeanne d'Arc must gratefully acknowledge his obligations to the great palæographers and men of research into the fruits of whose labours he enters. Among these are especially to be honoured M. Jules Quicherat, M. Siméon Luce, M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, M. Pierre Champion, Father Ayroles, S.J., M. Albert Sorel, M. Boucher de Molandon, M. de Beaucourt, M. Jadart, M. Jarry, M. Vallet de Viriville, M. Tuetey, M. de Beaurepaire, M. P. Lanery d'Arc, and the Duc de la Trémoïlle (in his published work on his family archives). I have also read several biographies of the Maid, such as those by Father Ayroles, S.J., M. Wallon, M. Sepet, M. Anatole France whose notes constitute an excellent bibliography), the Chanoine Dunand, and Mr. F. C. Lowell (1896). On certain questions, for example as to whether Jeanne visited Vaucouleurs twice; as to the date of her departure from Vaucouleurs to Chinon; as to whether she passed the night of April 28, 1429, at Reuilly; as to the alleged resistance of the French leaders to her attack on the Tourelles, on May 7, I differ from Mr. Lowell, but not with perfect confidence, the evidence being confused. I am apt, also, to prefer to his view of the supernormal in Jeanne's career, the opinions of Quicherat.

For permission to reproduce three charts in Mr. Lowell's book I have to thank his publishers, Messrs. Houghton and Mifflin. I have added to the chart of Orleans the names of some of the English forts.

In this book the narrative is given continuously, without footnotes. Full references to authorities, and critical dissertations, are relegated to notes at the end of the work. When I quote any speech or other matter, between inverted commas, I cite my text *literally*; translating as closely as I am able to do. Attempts to "give the general sense" are apt to end in giving the wrong sense.

The references, as to volume and page, have been verified by myself, in all cases at least twice, often much more frequently; and again, by Miss E. M. Thompson (except in four or five cases, for which books were not accessible to her). She has also been kind enough to make transcripts of certain documents in our own State papers, and to read the proof sheets. But I wish to bear the blame of any errors in citation, or other mistakes and misapprehensions, for even an *aide* so meticulously accurate as Miss Thompson may fail to keep straight an author whose eyes were never of the best.

Finally my thanks are due to Madame Duclaux, who kindly procured for me some modern books which I had sought in vain; though there are others which proved to be *introuvables*.

For permission to reproduce the two miniatures of the Maid, we are indebted to the kindness and courtesy of Monsieur André Girodie, secretary of the *Notes d'Art et d'Archéologie* (27 Rue d'Ulm, Paris). These miniatures appear to myself, speaking under correction,[1] to be works not later than the middle of the fifteenth century. Though the Maid never sat for her portrait, the miniatures may be based on memories of her face. The oval and the features are long and fine; the hair is dark, as it really was; and the armour is such as she really wore. These little pictures are less remote from the original than the *dinanderie* of the Cluny Museum, a statuette representing her mounted; it is a clumsy work, which some regard as an effigy of St. Maurice, dated about 1480–1500. I incline to regard it as a popular image of Jeanne, but it is valueless as a likeness.

[1] Corrected I have been, by M. Salomon Reinach.

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* The Miniatures reproduced by permission of M. A. Girodie.

CORRIGENDA

On page 12 it is asserted that, according to M. Anatole France, *Jeanne never told about her "revelations" to her curé or any churchman* (France, vol. i. p. 50; vol. ii. p. 307). This is an error; M. France merely says that she did not confide in her *curé*. But he adds in a note (vol. i. p. 50, note 2) the Latin words of a gloss on the d'Urfé MS. of the *Procès*: "She concealed her visions from her father, her mother, *and every one*"; while the text (*Procès*, vol. i. p. 128) states that "she did not speak a word of her vision to her *curé, or any other churchman*." I regret that I inadvertently misrepresented M. France as giving the complete evidence of Jeanne on this subject.

Note to p. 35, line 23. *For* "Tuesday" *read* "Thursday." M. France refers for the Thursday fairy trysts to *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 450. The right reference is *Procès*, vol. i. p. 187.

On page 45, line 4, *et. seq.* *Delete* lines 4–16. It has not been observed by historians, nor till recently by myself, that Jeanne did *not* see her Saints as they were represented in works of art. She saw St. Michael "many times" before she learned who he was, and after similar ignorance as to who the lady Saints were, she was informed by themselves.

THE MAID OF FRANCE

INTRODUCTION

THE MAID AND THEORIES ABOUT HER

THE name and fame of Jeanne d'Arc are "in the catalogue of common things," like the rainbow; of things so familiar that an effort of imagination is needed before we can appreciate the unique position of the Maid in history. The story of her career, as one of her learned French historians has said, "is the most marvellous episode in our history, and in all histories."[1]

She was the consummation and ideal of two noble human efforts towards perfection. The peasant's daughter was the Flower of Chivalry, brave, gentle, merciful, courteous, kind, and loyal. Later poets and romance-writers delighted to draw the figure of the Lady Knight; but Spenser and Ariosto could not create, Shakespeare could not imagine, such a being as Jeanne d'Arc.

She was the most perfect daughter of her Church; to her its sacraments were the very Bread of Life; her conscience, by frequent confession, was kept fair and pure as the lilies of Paradise. In a tragedy without parallel or precedent the Flower of Chivalry died for France and the chivalry of France, which had deserted her; she died by the chivalry of England, which shamefully entreated and destroyed her; while the most faithful

[1] Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, p. iii.

of Christians perished through the "celestial science," and dull political hatred of priests who impudently called themselves "the Church."

Waning Chivalry, bewildered "celestial science," were confronted by the living ideal of Chivalry and Faith; and they crushed it. Jeanne came to them a maiden, and in years almost a child; beautiful, gay, "with a glad countenance." The priests and Doctors of her enemies offered her bread of tears and water of affliction, so merciful, they said, were they; they tricked her, and they gave her the death of fire.

She came, with powers and with genius which should be the marvel of the world while the world stands. She redeemed a nation; she wrought such works as seemed to her people, and well might seem, miraculous. Yet even among her own people, even now, her glory is not uncontested.

She came to her own, and her own received her not.

Let us understand the nature of the task which Jeanne set before herself, as an ignorant peasant child of thirteen; the victory which, as an ignorant peasant girl of seventeen, she initiated. She was to relieve "the great pity that there is in France," a pity caused, externally, by the pressure of a foreign master in the capital, of foreign power in the country north of the Loire; internally, by the blood-feud between the Duke of Burgundy and the disinherited Dauphin, Charles VII; by a generation of ruthless treacheries and butcheries; by wars which were organised commercial speculations in ransoms and in plunder; by alien bands of mercenaries who had deliberately stifled pity; by great nobles who robbed the country which they should have defended, and passed their time in murder and private war.

In the opinion of most contemporary observers, French and foreign, in 1428, the rightful King, Charles VII, must go into exile or beg his bread, and France must be erased from the list of nations. We must not be deceived by the idea that, in the fifteenth century, there was no national patriotism, and that France

was not yet a name to conjure with. Ever since the Paladins of Charlemagne, in the *Chanson de Roland*, wept in a foreign land at the thought of "sweet France," that word had its enchantment. That name was ever on the lips and in the letters of the Maid; she used it as a spell to cast out the nickname, "Armagnacs," which the English had given to the national party. The word *patrie* was not yet in common use (though she is made to say *patria* in the Latin translation of her Trial), but the old "*doulx pays de France*" served the turn.

To unite France, to restore France, to redeem France, and to rescue Orleans, was the task of Jeanne; but, even before Orleans was besieged, she had her own conception of the method to be employed. She promised, in May 1428, to lead her "gentle Dauphin," through hostile Anglo-Burgundian territory, to be crowned at Reims. Even disinterested foreigners then spoke of her prince, not as king, but as Dauphin. He would become king only when anointed with the holy oil from the mystic *ampoule* brought by an angel to the patron saint of Jeanne's native village, Domremy.

To the modern mind the importance thus attached to a few drops of oil seems very absurd. But in studying history we must accept the past as it existed: when occupied with the characters and events of the Middle Ages, we must learn to think medievally. To the faithful in the Middle Ages the earth was but a plain, to which the angels of heaven descended, going and coming on errands of the Divine Will, as in the Vision of Jacob. The political importance of anointing the King with the holy oil of Reims was recognised as fully by the practical Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V, and Governor of France, as by the peasant girl of Domremy. Between the daughter of Jacques d'Arc, in her remote village on the Meuse, and the great Lancastrian statesman and warrior in Paris, it was indeed a race for Reims and for the Coronation of the Dauphin, or of the child King of England, Henry VI.

The political results of success in this race, the increase of

loyalty and of prestige to her Dauphin, were only one part of the plan conceived by the peasant child. She came to help the poor and the oppressed. She would crown the Dauphin, but first she would bid him give her his promise to rule in righteousness. She caused him, in fact, to make to her, before she set forth to rescue Orleans, a promise in the nature of his Coronation Oath; he was to govern justly, mercifully, without rancour or revenge, as the loyal vassal of Christ. The sacred oil was much, the golden Crown was much, but to Jeanne, from first to last, free or in prison, the Crown was that ideal Crown, not of this world, but imperishable in the world of ideas. "This Crown," she told her judges, "no goldsmith on earth could fashion." Only by virtue of this Crown could France be restored to her place among Christian nations.

Such were the conceptions, as will be proved in detail, of this rustic girl, who determined, alone, to fulfil her dream. But she undertook her mission, not only with the clearest conviction of her own personal impotence,—"I am but an untaught lass, who cannot ride and direct the wars," she said,—but also with the certain foreknowledge, from the first, that she "would last but a year or little more." Such was her presentiment, such, as she held, was the knowledge conveyed to her by the lips that cannot lie, of the Blessed Dead.

Knowing all this,—her own lack of power, her own poverty, simplicity, and inexperience, and the briefness of her own span,—the Maid applied herself to her task. Through the last ten of her allotted thirteen months, she was ill-supported by the King whom she had crowned: for the last six weeks her inspirations only foretold her capture. But she had turned the tide of English conquest; thenceforth the waves retired, and within the time predicted by the captive Maid, England had "lost a dearer gage than Orleans," had lost Paris.

Such were the marvels, marvellously accomplished, of Jeanne d'Arc. A girl understood, and a girl employed (so professional students of strategy and tactics declare), the essential ideas of

the military art; namely, to concentrate quickly, to strike swiftly, to strike hard, to strike at vital points, and, despising vain noisy skirmishes and "valiances," to fight with invincible tenacity of purpose.

It may be said that to conceive these tactics was, with Jeanne, an affair rather of the heart than of the head; rather of courage than of science. Be it so: but we shall see that Jeanne could decline as well as offer battle, at a crisis when the professional French captains might probably have thrown away the fruits of victory, by accepting the challenge of the enemy.

Moreover, if it be granted that the military successes of the Maid were due less to her head than to her heart, it was precisely heart, courage, confidence that France needed. A series of English victories, culminating in the mournful and laughable defeat of an indirect attempt (February 12, 1429) to relieve Orleans, had deprived the French of the heart and confidence which the Maid restored.

She possessed what, in a Napoleon, a Marlborough, a Kellermann at Alba de Tormes (1809), would be reckoned the insight of genius. Unlike the generals with whom she rode, she divined the temper of the enemy; she foresaw how they would behave. At Alba de Tormes "the French general resolved to risk a most dangerous experiment, an attack with unsupported cavalry upon a force of all arms, in the hope of detaining it till his infantry should come up."[1] In a few moments part of the Spanish army was a wreck: the rest was detained till it was shattered by the arrival of the French infantry and guns. Jeanne never took so great a risk, but she, like Kellermann, gauged correctly the temper of the enemy. She knew that they would not take the offensive, and her estimate of their "morale" was correct. The expert French captains ought to have known as much, for the English were permitting bands of from two to four hundred French combatants to go in and out of Orleans with little opposition. Therefore they were unlikely to sally forth

[1] Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. iii. p. 99.

against a body of three or four thousand men. But Dunois did not draw the inference which the Maid drew, and lacked, by his own honest confession, the heart and confidence of the Maid.

She derived her confidence from her perfect faith in the monitions of her Voices (a source not open to most generals); but, *enfin*, in military conduct, in strategy and tactics, by the confession of her opponents she was in the right. So it was in all things.

"Simple" she seemed, and ignorant, "save in matters of war," to many who knew her. But whatsoever thing confronted her, whatsoever problem encountered her, whatsoever manners became her in novel situations, she understood in a moment. She solved the problem; she assumed the manners; she faced the rain of arrows and bullets; she faced Doctors and Clerks; she animated the soldiery in Napoleon's way; she spoke and acted like a captain, like a clerk, like a *grande dame de par le monde*, as the need of the moment required.

To think less than this of Jeanne is to fail to understand the unimpeachable facts of her history. It is, moreover, never to be forgotten that, during her military career, her age was of from seventeen to eighteen years. At seventeen, Napoleon had not won a decisive battle, had not led forlorn hopes to victory, had not "taught the doubtful battle where to rage." But that Jeanne had done all this no sceptic can deny; and the doing of it was but the beginning of her career of wonders.

In a crisis of the national fortunes of France, the hour had come, and the girl. In other crises the hour has come, and the man, Cromwell or Napoleon. We recognise their genius and their opportunity. But in the case of Jeanne d'Arc, as she was an ignorant girl of seventeen, human wisdom is apt to decline to recognise the happy wedding of opportunity and genius, and to look about for any explanations that may minimise the marvel.

Jeanne, we are sometimes told, had no military knowledge, no military intuitions, no political intuitions of value. Of course, if this be so, the marvel becomes a miracle, and the miracle has to be explained away. "The task of which France had despaired

was not really difficult." Perhaps not,—till "thinking made it so." Jeanne was no more than a visionary, we are told, like any other Crazy Moll, but braver, better, and luckier.

This idea, though enthusiastically welcomed of late as the *dernier cri* of psychological and historical science, is anything but new. In 1730 M. Antoine de la Barre de Beaumarchais wrote, "Jeanne was an enthusiast. She and three other women had been seduced by the famous preacher, Brother Richard. He had filled their minds with visions and revelations, and overheated their feeble brains. On the strength of his word they believed that they were Saints, and henceforth they had never a foolish fancy but they took it for an inspiration. Jeanne was preferred above her companions: the King made his profit out of her pious lunacy, and pretended to hold her in profound respect. His object was to encourage his party by deluding them into the belief that God had sent him a new Deborah to drive out the foreign invaders."[1]

Of these edifying remarks (not, of course, by the famous author of *Le Mariage de Figaro*)—remarks based on ignorance of history, we read an echo in 1908. "Several saintly women led, like Jeanne, a singular life, and communicated with the Church Triumphant. It was, so to say, *un béguinage volant*" (a flying squadron of *béguines*, or fantastic devotees) "which followed the army."[2]

This is the statement of M. Anatole France in his Life of the Maid.

A considerable and industrious student, M. Vallet de Viriville, in 1863, reintroduced the way of thinking about Jeanne d'Arc which had been adopted by Beaumarchais. Admitting that she had genius, and defining genius rather oddly as "the quintessence of common sense," he placed her as "one of *a group*"; her precursors and imitators. Most of these were, or pretended to be, visionaries, dreamers of dreams; some were more or less, usually

[1] Beaumarchais, *Lettres Sérieuses et Badines*, 1730, vol. iii. p. 26.
[2] Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 96.

less, accredited and listened to by princes and even by popes. Many were charlatans; one was a lovely lady of pleasure, Madame d'Or; and several were married women who can scarcely be called, as M. de Viriville does call them, Pucelles![1]

The common point of all was that they saw and heard, or affected to see and hear, Visions and Voices. But surely this point is rather more of an accident than of a *differentia.* Shelley, Socrates, Mohammed, Luther, Pascal, and Cromwell were of the visionary habit; but, essentially, they were men of genius in poetry, philosophy, war, religion, and so forth. In the same way Jeanne essentially and pre-eminently belongs to the group of genius, while all the sham Pucelles and vapid dreamers do not.

It is fair to M. de Viriville to add that though he included Jeanne in his motley group of married Pucelles, Saints, charlatans, light o' loves, and crazy wenches, he added that "in her, good sense shone with extraordinary brilliance. . . . She was profoundly religious, remarkably pious, but neither a mystic nor a miracle-worker." He declines to confuse her with the other women of "the flying squadron of *béguines*." She was a practical person.[2]

Dr. Dumas, a distinguished authority on nervous diseases and aberrant constitutions, also writes, "the will and the intellect of Jeanne were sane and straight" (*par son intelligence, par sa volonté Jeanne reste saine et droite*). At the same time he assures us that "no mortal could be more destitute than Jeanne of clear and practical ideas," and that there can be no "literary hypothesis" more blinding than that which credits her with good sense![3] Dr. Dumas is a too headlong disciple of the one historian on whom he relies. That author sometimes deviates into crediting Jeanne with "all the good sense of the people," and with[4] "very correct ideas"; in great matters both of war and peace.

I am unable to reconcile the conflicting statements which the

[1] Vallet de Viriville, *Charles VII*, 1863, vol. ii. pp. viii–x.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 129, 130.

[3] Dumas in Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 465. Dumas in *Revue du Mois*, May 10, 1908.

[4] France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 73, vol. ii. p. 7.

great historian and the great "scientist" manage to combine in their verdicts on the Maid. If "her intelligence and will were sane and straight," how did she manage to be "devoid of clear and practical ideas"? If she were "conspicuous for good sense," in that essential respect she was remote indeed from the crew of crazy Molls. Historian and savant both seem to have ideas far from the clear and the consistent.

Next, we are told that even Jeanne's martial mission was not of her own invention, conscious or sub-conscious, but was imagined and imposed on her by fraudulent priests, who, apparently, understood the military situation and the needs of France better than Dunois and de Gaucourt! This also is no new theory.

In 1435, four years after her martyrdom, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, was present at the negotiations for the Treaty of Arras, which reconciled France and Burgundy, and dealt a death blow at the English domination over France. He found, as he writes in his Memoirs, that there were many opinions about Jeanne d'Arc, many explanations of her career.[1]

The simple people deemed that she had a mission from Heaven, and was inspired by veritable saints and angels. Others, the scholars of Paris University, believed that her inspiration came from evil spirits. Others, yet more scientific, held that she was the innocent victim of natural subjective hallucinations. Finally (here the Pope's evidence comes in), there was a party which maintained that some French statesman, seeing the jealousies of the nobles of Charles VII,—none would accept another's lead,—found in the Maid a professedly divine leader, whom all might follow. This view is set forth by two French historians in 1548 and 1570.[2]

Jeanne had been, it was believed, the mistress of Robert de Baudricourt, or of Poton de Saintrailles, or of the Bastard of Orleans, and she was instructed in her part by one statesman or

[1] *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 518.

[2] Du Haillan, *De l'Estat et Succès des Affaires de France*, Paris, 1570. Guillaume du Bellay, *Instructions sur le faict de la Guerre*, 1548.

another. The cunning statesman invented the mission, and pulled the strings of the clever puppet.

Our knowledge of history makes this last opinion untenable. It is now held by none; but as we see, it has recently been revived in a modified form. The old explanation of that serious historian, Beaumarchais (1730), was that Jeanne was but one of a group of female visionaries, all inspired and directed by the foolish popular preacher, Brother Richard. The similar opinion, that she was known by the clergy of her native place to be a visionary, and that they invented her military mission and imposed it on her through her Voices, while Brother Richard took her in hand later, has been put forward by M. Anatole France.[1]

Dr. Dumas of the Sorbonne has hailed M. France's revival of the old system of "indoctrination" as the last word of Science on the subject.[2]

If I stated the scientific theory in my own words, I might readily be suspected of maliciously distorting it. I translate, therefore, the scientific formula as given by Dr. Dumas. "It is outside of the Maid that M. Anatole France resolutely seeks the source of her political inspirations and Messianic ideas. Thus, behind her first visions, he already detects the influence of some unknown clerical person who wished to turn these visions to the good of the kingdom, and to the conclusion of peace. Jeannette brought, for her part, her piety, her horror of war, her love of the unhappy and afflicted, her memories of her nights of anguish, and of her frightful dreams. The clerical person contributed the Mission; and out of the Voices which at first only said, "Jeannette, be a good girl," he made the Voices which said, "Daughter of God, leave thy village and go into France to let consecrate the Dauphin."[3]

How the priest came to know that Jeanne (who confided the facts to no churchman) saw Angels and Saints, Dr. Dumas does not tell us. How, when the priest did know, he "made the Voices urge Jeanne to go to France, despite her remonstrances—'I cannot

[1] *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, 1908. Vol. i. p. 54, and *passim*.
[2] *Revue du Mois*, May 10, 1908. [3] *Ibid.*, May 10, 1908.

ride and fight,'"[1] Dr. Dumas does not inform us. He even drops the fact that the mission was *military*; probably because he sees that no priest could be so mad as to advise a peasant girl to ride in the van of armies. The mission, however, was "holy and *warlike*," says M. France himself, with truth.[2] His neuropathological disciple, in the interests of the scientific theory, is obliged to ignore that essential circumstance.

It cannot be ignored by the historian! Again, Jeanne had no "horror of war" in a just cause. She did not want to fight, and as soon as her Voices bade her go into France, and lead her King to Reims through a country full of hostile garrisons, she perceived that her mission must be military, and replied that she could not fight and lead men-at-arms. But, yielding to the monitions of her Voices, she took up a mission professedly warlike. When she left Vaucouleurs on February 23, 1429, to rescue France, she was girt with a sword: she carried sword, lance, steel sperth, and dagger —or such of these weapons as she found appropriate—till the hour of her capture. "Her nights of terror and fearful dreams" are as destitute of evidence as her clerical tutors. She was not timid!

When we refuse to ignore, with Dr. Dumas, the fact that the mission of the Maid, from the first, was *military*; when we agree, with M. France, and all the evidence, that the mission was *warlike*, the scientific theory ceases to exist.

No priest could possibly have taught her, through her Voices, that only an ignorant peaceful peasant girl, herself, in male costume, could drive the English out of France. Much less could a supposed series of clerical impostors have, through all her career, unanimously insisted on a course which, to human common sense, seemed the quintessence of crazy folly.

This theory is unthinkable. First, it cannot be thought that even if one mad *curé* bade the girl to make peace by restoring France with the sword in her own hand, Jeanne's other clerical tutors would all follow him. If they thought that they had got

[1] *Procès*, vol. i. p. 53.

[2] France, vol. i. p. 51.

hold of a useful saintly visionary,—to such a person, princes, popes, the English Government, and the Duke of Burgundy were, in that age, apt to listen,—they would employ her as a messenger of peace, not of war. Popes and princes and cities had listened to St. Catherine of Siena: the English Government and the Duke of Bedford listened to the devout Dame Eleanor Raughton, All Hallows, North Street, York.[1]

But the priests of the theory sent their visionary to ride in man's dress, armed, and to bid the English depart at the point of the lance! The only named director whom Jeanne's enemies accused of "indoctrinating" her, Brother Richard, found that she spurned his peaceful methods of negotiating through a visionary.

The scientific hypothesis, then, cannot be accepted by the historian. Moreover, the hypothesis is self-contradictory, if that be any objection in modern logic. It is distinctly and frequently, and correctly maintained, by the advocate of the theory of clerical "indoctrination," that no priest knew anything from Jeanne of her psychical experiences, *that Jeanne never told about her "revelations" to her curé or any churchman.*[2] That she did not do so is very extraordinary; and the fact, to this day, afflicts her clerical defenders, Father Ayroles, S.J., and the Chanoine Dunand. But that Jeanne was thus secretive, that she never took a priest into her confidence as concerning her visions and Voices, was a point urged against her claims to canonisation in 1903. The *Advocatus Diaboli*, Monsignor Caprara (*Promoteur de la Foi*), dwelt severely on the conduct of Jeanne in not consulting her spiritual director about her revelations.[3]

That she confided the facts of her visions and Voices to no churchman is thus maintained by the friends of the theory that, apparently because she *did* confide them, the churchmen knew about them, and "indoctrinated" her; taught her the nature

[1] *Pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick*, p. iii. Roxburghe Club, 1908.
[2] France, vol. i. p. 50, ii. p. 307.
[3] Langogne, *Jeanne d'Arc devant la Congrégation des Rites*, 1894, p. 174.

of her warlike mission; and used her as their mouth-piece and puppet. The theory of "indoctrination" rests on a contradiction in terms.

Thus the logic of the case proves that there was no less of truth than of loyalty in the dying declaration of the Maid; that what she had done, be it good or bad, was entirely of her own doing without counsel from any man.

The theory that she was "indoctrinated" has no historical basis, and less than no logical basis. She was not—save in accepting the contemporary ideas, expressed even on the coinage, about kings being the lieutenants of God, and about the need of consecration and coronation—the pupil of priests or politicians.

As a proof that her mission was suggested by fraudulent priests, we are told that it was initiated and advertised by means of forged prophecies, chiefly by a special version of a prophecy of Merlin, fraudulently constructed to these ends. But we shall demonstrate, by unimpeachable evidence, that this prediction was a thing already current in folklore on the marches of Lorraine.

The author who presents us with these ideas adds that, in her lifetime, Jeanne was only known to men in a radiant mist of childish and incredible legends, reported by the press, so to speak, of the period, the news letters sent to foreign countries. If this were true, it is not easy to guess where the critic obtained the materials for his portrait of the Maid. Of course, in her lifetime Jeanne was well known to hundreds of persons.

It should be superfluous to remark that the materials for an historical portrait cannot be disengaged out of the ephemeral legends which, in all ages, gather round every important personage. Lord Morley's *Life of William Ewart Gladstone* would have been much more lively, but much less edifying, had he made use of the contemporary legends concerning the famous politician. We do not take our ideas of Montrose, Claverhouse, or Mary of Guise from the contemporary legends of the Covenanters or the myths of John Knox.

In the same way the tattle of contemporary writers of news letters, who in 1429–1431 sent to Germany and Italy, "under all reserves," the fables about Jeanne d'Arc which reached them, does not make her a legendary personage. The romances of victories and defeats that never occurred, in the South African war, did not outlive three days' life of the British and foreign newspapers which circulated them; and scarcely one of the fables about Jeanne, published in the news letters of 1429–1430, found its way into the Chronicles of 1430–1470. A few of the myths were made the subjects of questions put to Jeanne by her judges in 1431. Of some she had never so much as heard; the truth of others she denied.

To say that "the history of Jeanne d'Arc is a religious history just like that of Colette de Corbie," is an error in criticism.[1] In the case of Jeanne we have, in the case of St. Colette we have not, an enormous body of historical materials,—almost destitute of "hagiography," wholly destitute of imputed miracles,—unless a few cases of premonition and clairvoyance are to be held "miraculous." In Jeanne we see the warrior and the politician, not the ecstatic and the thaumaturge. Miracle-working she again and again, in freedom and in prison, disclaimed. If she occasionally exhibited such faculties as "second sight" and telepathy, Thackeray, Nelson, and Catherine de Medici have been credited with similar powers.

To reject abundance of sworn evidence because it conflicts with a critic's personal idea of what is probable or possible is not the method of History, and will not be adopted in this book. Much less will I reject, for instance, the evidence of Jeanne herself on any point, and give a fanciful theory of my own as to what really occurred. If there are incidents in her career which Science, so far, cannot explain, I shall not therefore regard them as false. Science may be able to explain them on some future day; at present she is not omniscient.

The mournful truth is that the historian has a much better

[1] France, vol. i. p. lxxx.

chance of being read if he gives free play to his fancy than if he is strictly accurate. But to add the figments of fancy to the facts on record, to cite documents as if they were warrants for the statements which they do not support, is to wander from history into the enchanted forest of romance.

In the Notes will be found many specimens of the method, arising, of course, from *unconscious* misreadings and misquotations.

CHAPTER I

THE TASK OF JEANNE D'ARC. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

THE historical situation which inspired, and the political conditions which thwarted the mission of Jeanne d'Arc, must be briefly analysed; and we must make acquaintance with the men among whom she found herself, when she arrived, during Lent 1429, in the grey and black attire of a page, at her prince's Court.

Within the geographical limits of France were a number of provinces under independent though nominally feudatory chiefs. The force which was slowly forging the various jealous and practically independent elements of France into a nation was resistance to her conquering adversary of England.

Since 1392 the intermittent madness, and the constant folly of Charles VI, had left authority in the hands of his sensual and unscrupulously avaricious wife, Isabella of Bavaria, and her popular ally, the King's brother, Louis of Orleans, father of the poet Charles d'Orléans, and of the Bastard, the famous Dunois. Louis was "a personification of amiable vice." He was believed to have cast magic spells on his Royal brother, who, at times, was a filthy and ferocious maniac. In a relatively lucid interval, the King appealed to the Duke of Burgundy, Jean sans Peur, a potentate whose territories were almost as great as his own,—huge cantles of Flanders, Picardy, northern and eastern France,—for aid and protection. Appearing as a deliverer from the extravagance and exorbitant taxation of Orleans and the Queen, Burgundy became, at intervals, the favourite of the people of Paris, and the opinion of Paris was already dominant at least as far south as the Loire.

Meanwhile Louis of Orleans was acquiring possessions, as at Coucy, Ham, Peronne, and Laon, which bordered on the territories of Burgundy; and he is also said to have insulted, by his enterprising courtship, the young wife of Jean sans Peur. A reconciliation was patched up between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy: on Sunday, November 20, 1407, they received together the Holy Communion. On Tuesday they dined together; on Wednesday Orleans was set on in the dark by the emissaries of Burgundy, and was hacked to death in the street. His right arm was cut at elbow and wrist; his left hand was severed from his body; his skull was cleft across and across; his brains were scattered in the mire. Burgundy acknowledged his guilt, and retired to Lille. The result was a vendetta as ferocious as the blood-feuds of Iceland in the age of the Sagas, a blood-feud that involved a nation, broke it up into two sanguinary parties, and laid it at the feet of English conquerors.

Orleans had never been wholly unpopular. His manners were gay; he had challenged Henry of Lancaster to single combat; he had been the enemy of England, with all his faults; while Burgundy was England's ally. Henceforth the party of the Orleanists, or "Armagnacs," led by Bernard, Comte d'Armagnac, was the party of France south of the Loire, while the men-at-arms of Burgundy, from Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, were in great measure Germans by language.

In 1411, after a war of partisans, Burgundy appealed to England, and Henry IV sent English contingents to his aid. The more daring Henry V, in 1413, revived the pretensions of Edward III, beat France to her knees at Agincourt (1415), and set his ambition on her Crown. No claim could be less legal. Even if the Dauphin, later Charles VII, had not existed, even if the so-called Salic law had not been binding, Catherine, later the bride of Henry V, was not the eldest of the daughters of France. But Charles, eldest surviving son of the mad king and Isabella of Bavaria, soon came to be used as if he had placed himself out of the law. Indolent at this time, and timid, he was wasting his

youth in circumstances much like those of James VI of Scotland. He was ruled by successive sets of violent men, who violently got rid of each other as temptation arose and as opportunity suggested. In May to June 1418, the Burgundians and the mob of Paris overthrew the Armagnac soldiery in the place. The Dauphin Charles was, with difficulty, rescued by Robert le Macon and Tanneguy du Châtel; the horrors of the prison massacres of Armagnacs rivalled those of the Bartholomew and of September 1793. The Dauphin, a boy of sixteen, fled to Bourges.

In 1419 occurred the famous reconciliatory meeting of the Dauphin with Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, in an improvised chamber on the bridge of Montereau. Each prince had his attendants; angry words passed, the duke laid his hand, accidentally or menacingly, on his sword hilt; the lie direct was given, and despite the most sacred pledges, the adherents of the Dauphin avenged the murder of Louis d'Orléans, and Jean sans Peur was slain no less cruelly than he had slain the Duc d'Orléans. Many and various accounts of the brawl exist. Whether or not the Dauphin had guilty foreknowledge of the design, whether or not he was present at its bloody consummation, are matters of dispute.

The new Duke of Burgundy, Philippe, pursuing the blood-feud, strengthened his alliance with England; and the Queen and King of France, as far as in them lay, by the Treaty of Troyes (1420) disinherited the Dauphin Charles, and publicly branded the boy with the guilt of the murder of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau. Whatever the measure of his own guilt, he would not, he could not, dismiss his murderous advisers and associates. Meanwhile Henry V married Catherine, the sister of the Dauphin, and on his coins proclaimed himself heir of France.

Such were the sinister beginnings in life of Charles VII, for whom Jeanne d'Arc, with the stake before her, gave her life, defending him in her sweet girlish voice as "the noblest of Christians," when he was denounced in a sermon preached at her in her captivity.

Strange virtue of ideal loyalty, of Montrose applauding on the

scaffold the worthless king who had deserted him; of Jeanne raising her lonely voice in defence of the monarch whom she had made, and who had distrusted and abandoned her!

The character of the Dauphin is matter of dispute. To one eminent scholar he seems at this period to have been indolent, a "fugitive and cloistered" prince, shunning the light, profligate in his pleasures, the tool of his ministers. Says another, "he was very ugly, with small grey wandering eyes; his nose was thick and bulbous; his legs bony and bandy (*cagneuses*); his thighs emaciated, with enormous knock-knees." His portraits hardly justify these reproaches, and his subjects, as at Châlons, when they saw him, pronounced him *une belle personne*.

The verdict of his latest biographer represents the Dauphin as true to himself and his Cause, while others forsook him; tenaciously resolute; rich in good sense and knowledge of affairs. "His physical advantages, his kindness of manner, won the favour of his people," and a contemporary styles him "a handsome Prince, well-languaged, and full of pity for the poor." He was very devout, "his piety was sincere." He was devoted to St. Michael, Jeanne's own archangel. He was generous to others,—and to himself; luxurious, fond of horses. But even the apologist of the Dauphin confesses that he was the slave of his favourites, blind to their defects; ready to suffer anything from them. These Royal qualities of blind subservience to non-military favourites wrecked the enterprise of Jeanne d'Arc. It was for this ambiguous indolent Dauphin, "always wishing to hide from his people in castles and holes and corners," as one of his Council told him in 1434, that the Maid gave her life and death, her action and her passion; for she saw in him the son of St. Louis, of the holy blood of France. The Dauphin, to her, was but the sacred symbol of the France for which she died.

Henry V and Charles VI passed away within two months of each other (August 31, October 22, 1422). England was left by Henry, during the minority of his infant son, to the care of his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; while his other brother,

John, Duke of Bedford, was Regent of France. Bedford was an able administrator; he governed Normandy, Paris, and the north, as Edward I would have governed Scotland, but for the dagger-stroke of Bruce in the church of the Grey Friars at Dumfries. He married Anne, sister of the Duke of Burgundy, while another marriage severed Bretagne from the party of France, or left it wavering till, in 1428, it swore to be loyal to England. A war of partisans devastated and ruined the country north of the Loire; and if the Scots won for France the great victory of Baugé Bridge, slaying the Royal Duke of Clarence, the battle of Cravant (July 30, 1423) was equally disastrous to the French and to the Scottish contingent. The battle of Verneuil (August 17, 1424) was another Agincourt; the Scots were nearly exterminated. The Dauphin was reduced to loiter, amuse himself, and pray at intervals, in a kind of listless despair, at Bourges, at Chinon, and Gien on the Loire. In the summer of Verneuil fight, apparently, or in the following year, her Voices and visions awoke in Jeanne d'Arc, a child of thirteen, and told her of "the great pity that was in France."

A political and personal quarrel between Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, brother of the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, on one side; and Philippe, Duke of Burgundy, son of the murdered Jean sans Peur, led to negotiations between the Dauphin Charles and the avenger of the deed at Montereau. The Duke of Savoy arranged a conference at Macon (December 1424), and thenceforth, while the Maid lived, perfidious and partial truces between France and Burgundy never quite ceased to exist. Among the representatives of the Dauphin was Regnault de Chartres, Archbishop of Reims, a name fatal in the history of Jeanne d'Arc. The policy of Regnault de Chartres was not to drive the English out of France by a series of miraculous victories, but to patch up peace and alliance with England's ally, Philippe, Duke of Burgundy. Without the support of Burgundy, England could not hold France down, and Regnault de Chartres, with La Trémoïlle, who had a foot in both camps, and with other politicians, was to interrupt

the triumphs of the Maid, and entangle her sword in a coil of diplomatic red tape.

In the negotiations of 1424 between the Dauphin, Burgundy, and Bretagne, Arthur, Comte de Richemont, representing Bretagne, took part, while Amédée, Duke of Savoy, acted as "the friendly broker." But the Duke of Burgundy, before accepting the advances and excuses of the Dauphin, insisted that he should "discourt," and abjure the advisers guilty of the death of Jean sans Peur. Truces were, meanwhile, arranged.

Among the negotiators the most important personage was Arthur, Comte de Richemont, second son of the wavering Jean V, Duc de Bretagne. He was of distinguished courage; at Agincourt he had been discovered under a heap of the slain, and he had shared the English exile of the Duc d'Orléans. He could now bring into the field the lances of the Breton nobles, de Laval, de Rieux, de Rais, de Montauban, de Châteaubriand, and a force of sturdy archers. He was an austere man, no amiable favourite. Through him, if the Dauphin would dismiss from his councils the murderers of Jean sans Peur, the interests of France, Burgundy, and Bretagne might be combined against England. But the favourites, or rather the masters of the Dauphin Charles, were alarmed by the prospect of finding a rival in de Richemont, the new Constable. "The king," as a minister of James VI said, "is like a jackanapes. If I hold him, I can make him bite you; if you hold him, you can make him bite me." The favourites of the Dauphin, their hands red with the blood of Jean sans Peur, caused Arthur de Richemont to swear that he would not make the Dauphin bite them (February 7, 1425). The Constable then vowed never to allow the men of the bridge of Montereau to be driven from office.

De Richemont next, as Constable of France, began to organise the forces of Bretagne. But the Dauphin had sworn to drive away the assassins in his council, men hateful alike to Bretagne and Burgundy. They, however, during the absence of de Richemont, held the Dauphin. De Richemont, despite his covenant with

them (of February 7, 1425), drove them and their tame Dauphin from place to place, until they were compelled to quit the Court.

One of the favourites alone remained, Giac, regarded as most guilty of the murder of Jean sans Peur. He pilfered public moneys, encouraged military and civil anarchy, and had a deadly quarrel with the other favourite, the wealthy and detested La Trémoïlle, suspected of treachery on all hands, who "financed" the Dauphin to his own profit. Early in 1427 the Constable, de Richemont, had the intolerable Giac seized in bed: the Dauphin rose and armed himself; there was a palace revolution; and, by the Constable's orders, Giac, despite his offers of his huge fortune for his life, was drowned. The heroes of the Raid of Ruthven, in Scotland, acted on these methods of changing the administration, but were scarcely so ferocious. The angry Dauphin appeared to acquiesce; Giac was succeeded by a new favourite who followed in his footsteps. and, by the Constable's desire, was cut down within the Dauphin's sight. The Maréchal de Boussac and de Sainte Sevère, who fought for France at the Siege of Orleans, gave the orders for this "execution" *à la Riccio.*

The Constable, de Richemont, now offered to the Dauphin a new favourite, La Trémoïlle (born 1382 and bred at the Court of Burgundy). "You will repent it," said the Dauphin, "I know him better than you do." The Constable, France, and, above all others, Jeanne d' Arc, had reason to deplore the advent of a man "who for six years was the evil genius of king and country," says the most friendly of the biographers of the King.

La Trémoïlle, born of a noble house, had his part in the murder of Giac, and married the widow of his victim. He had been chamberlain of the Duke of Burgundy; all his family were of the Burgundian party; he himself had a foot in both camps, and was regarded as a double traitor. He is said to have inspired the Dauphin with horror and hatred towards de Richemont; but that seems to have been superfluous. La Trémoïlle made "bands," as against de Richemont, with several powerful nobles, including the young Duc d'Alençon, and associated himself with Regnault

de Chartres, Chancellor of the realm and Archbishop of Reims. Private war broke out among these enemies: while England was actually mustering the forces destined to besiege Orleans (July 1428) and during the siege, the men of de Richemont were not aiding France, but attacking the bands of La Trémoïlle.

It was to the singular Court of this Dauphin, whence de Richemont had been banished, that Jeanne brought her aid in March 1429. She could defeat the English, she could rally and inspire the fighting men; but she could never inspire, she could never convince, she could never instruct these wretched dupes of Burgundy, the politicians. We are to see her first hampered, then disavowed, by the Archbishop of Reims; we are to see her eagerly welcoming the sword which de Richemont offered vainly to the Dauphin; we are to see her failure to win for France the alliance of the Duc de Bretagne; we are to find her detecting, in July 1429, the Burgundian trickeries which deceived her King till May 1430. To her the gallant Talbot, and Glasdale, and Suffolk were to prove more honourable and less dangerous foes than the scepticism of Regnault de Chartres and the worldly wisdom of La Trémoïlle. Her best allies were to be the men who, with all their reckless vices, were least unlike herself, the active and daring captains of armed companies, the dauntless Poton de Saintrailles; the brave and intelligent Dunois, then styled the Bastard of Orleans; the audacious cavalry leader, La Hire, with Florent d'Illiers, Ambroise de Loré, and her favourite, her *beau Duc d'Alençon*, who, when taken prisoner at Verneuil, refused to accept liberty without a ransom on the condition of deserting the cause of France. However deeply d'Alençon, in later years, may have fallen from his faith, and failed "to keep the bird in his bosom," he was ever loyal to the standard of the Maid.

Meanwhile, after the catastrophe of Verneuil, France was saved for a while by the desperate personal and political quarrel between Bedford's brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and England's ally, the Duke of Burgundy. Another quarrel between Gloucester and his uncle, son of John of Gaunt, the Bishop of Winchester,

Cardinal Beaufort, stained the streets of London with blood. Bedford was compelled for seventeen months to leave Paris and restore order and confidence at home. But, till the "stroke of God," as Bedford called it, at Orleans, he expresses himself well satisfied with the progress of English conquest in France.

In December 1433 he notified to Henry VI, "all things prospered for you till the time of the siege of Orleans"; though, in fact, there had been one or two checks, as at Montargis.

From England in 1427, Bedford brought a relatively large force, vaguely reckoned at 10,000 men, with artillery of every calibre. He may have had 3000 men of all arms. A new campaign was planned, more men were needed, and recruiting went busily on during the spring of 1428, under the Earl of Salisbury in England. The result of military deliberations, contrary to Bedford's own desire, was the English move on Orleans, in September–October 1428. The initial activity of Jeanne d'Arc, we shall see, began in May 1428, but was then frustrated.

Such were the military and political conditions. We turn to the local surroundings of the Maid.

Note

The sketch of La Trémoïlle is taken from a work by the present head of his House, *Les Trémoïlle pendant cinq Siècles*, vol. i. pp. xiii–xxiii, Nancy, 1890. We must remember that La Trémoïlle not only received great gifts from his king, but also lent him money. After a study of the accounts, however, I believe that La Trémoïlle had by far the better in the exchanges.

CHAPTER II

DOMREMY. PROPHECIES, FAITH, AND FAIRIES

DOMREMY, in which Jeanne was born (January 6, 1412?), is one of many villages that nestle by the banks of the Upper Meuse. The straggling river, broken by little isles, and fringed with reeds, flows clear in summer; the chub and dace may be seen through its pellucid water, unbroken as it is by dimples of the rising trout. As in a Hampshire chalk-stream the long green tresses of the water-weeds wave and float, the banks are gardens of water-flowers, the meadows are fragrant with meadow-sweet. After the autumn rains the river spreads in shallow lagoons across the valley, reflecting the purple and scarlet of the vineyards.

The scene, on a larger scale, much resembles the valley of the Test at Longparish, with its old red-roofed villages, mills, and mill-leads; but the surrounding hills are higher, and in places are covered with dark forests. The climate is temperate, the people are grave,—"Seldom die, never lie," is a local proverb attesting their longevity and truthfulness.

Though the house of Jeanne d'Arc, and the village church where she prayed, still exist, terribly "restored," they contain little that is old, except the ancient receptacle of holy water, shaped like a stone cannon. Little is here that to the Maid was familiar; but the aspect of her country, the river wherein her father threatened to drown her; the oakwood, even the clear fountain where once she saw her Saints, are almost unchanged.

The Meuse flowing north past the legendary oak forest, "le Bois Chesnu," separates, on the left, Jeanne's linked villages of Domremy and Greux from the villages of Maxey and the two

Bureys, before it reaches the walled town of the region, Vaucouleurs, then held for the Dauphin by a stout, rough, humorous captain, Robert de Baudricourt. The *villenie* of Vaucouleurs, including Domremy and Greux, was a kind of island of loyalty in a region either Anglo-Burgundian, or alien, in a territorial sense, to France. From the Duchy of Loraine the house of the father of Jeanne was separated only by a little burn, or it was even on the Loraine side of the march, for the inconstant stream is said to have changed its course once or more than once. Whatever the truth may be, a point on which much learning has been expended, Jeanne and Charles VII agreed in regarding the sites of Domremy and Greux as French soil, though the habit by which Domremy people spoke of "going into France" suggests that their village may once have been regarded as on the Loraine side of the march. To the west, Champagne, with Troyes and Reims, was Anglo-Burgundian; on more sides than one the local seigneurs were "false Frenchmen," like the de Vergy family; or changed sides at will, like Robert de Saarbruck, the blackmail-levying Damoiseau of Commercy. None the less Robert de Baudricourt held high the flag of France in the castle of Vaucouleurs, which, while Jeanne dwelt at Domremy, was seriously threatened, as far as we know, only on one occasion (1428).

In Domremy, about 1410, dwelt Jacques d'Arc, a native of Ceffonds in Champagne, with his wife, from Vouthon, named Isabelle (de Vouthon), and called *Romée*, whether by reason of a pilgrimage achieved by her, to Rome or to some famous distant shrine, or because she inherited the surname. The mother of the Maid was certainly devout, and, even in middle age, not destitute of energy and a taste for pious adventure. The parents of the Maid were good Catholics, of good repute, and honourable position as "labourers." Jacques owned horses and cattle, in 1421 was *doyen* of his village, and in 1427 represented it in some litigation. He was a relatively rich and a prominent member of his little community.

In front of the village of Domremy, at the foot of a line of

low hills which command, on the west, the valley of the Meuse, was a place of strength generally named "the castle of the island." This castle had a large court, walled and fortified, and a great garden, enclosed by a moat; there was also a chapel dedicated to Our Lady. The island itself was formed by the stream of the Meuse, which it divided. The hold belonged to the family of Bourlemont, seigneurs of the village; but the Bourlemonts had, before 1420, ended in an heiress, whose daughter and successor in the estates had married and lived at Nancy, with her lord Henri d'Ogiviller.

The castle, court, gardens, and adjoining pasture land were let to a little syndicate of the villagers, on a lease running from April 2, 1420, to June 24, 1429, about a week after the time when Jeanne was at the great French victory of Pathay. The village syndicate paid rent for the deserted fortress in money and in services. They were seven in number, with two chief and leading tenants, Jean Biget, of whom no more is known, and Jacques d'Arc, the father of the Maid. Jacques d'Arc was manifestly a person of substance for his station in life, and in the fortress of the isle he had a place of strength, where his little children could play at sieges, and act scenes of the chivalrous life; while, in times of danger, they helped to drive the cattle and pigs of the villagers within the fortified castle court.

Fancy (which plays too great a part in biographies of the Maid) may legitimately paint her as she walks alone, beneath the poplar trees, in the deserted alleys of the feudal garden, under the blank windows of the silent untenanted castle. May she not, as a child, have conceived of herself as the *châtelaine* of a fairy fortress, and practised, in day dreams, the courtly manners which she brought to the Court?

Of Jacques d'Arc we know little more except that he was naturally averse, later, to the strange adventure of his daughter, and *two years before she declared her mission*, dreamed, to his horror, that he saw Jeanne going away with men-at-arms. "In that case," he said to his sons, "you must drown her or I will."

The death by water, the death by fire, were threats with which Jeanne was familiar. "My father and mother held me in great subjection," said the Maid. She disobeyed them but once, namely, in going whither her Voices called her.

The Maid had two elder brothers, Jacques or Jacquemin, who lived at Vouthon, Jean, and a sister, Catherine, who died young; she had also a brother Pierre. The only known educated persons among her near kin were her maternal uncle, a *curé*, and a cousin-german, Nicolas Romée, called de Vouthon, a religious of the Abbey of Cheminon, who later served as her almoner and chaplain. (Concerning him there are some doubts.) Jeanne herself could not read or write, and learned her *Ave Maria*, *Pater Noster*, and Creed from her mother. The birth-year of the Maid is not known with certainty: all evidence proves that it was in 1410–1412, and we shall provisionally accept, with M. Siméon Luce, the date of 1412.

As to the birthday of Jeanne, we have only one indication. After her triumphs at Orleans, Percéval de Boulainvilliers, in a letter to a foreign prince, told the following tale. On the night of the Epiphany (January 6, Twelfth Night), when men are wont to commemorate with jollity the acts of Christ, the Maid was born. "All the peasants of her village were moved with a great joy, and, *knowing nothing about the birth of the Maid*, they ran up and down, trying to find out what novelty had occurred. The cocks, like heralds of the new mirth, broke out beyond their wont, crowing and flapping their wings, and, for some two hours seemed to prognosticate the occurrence."

There is no reason why all this should not have occurred. The facts are not miraculous, but highly probable; the interpretation of the facts as miraculous was made *après coup*; after Jeanne became renowned as the girl who promised to save France. We know that Twelfth Night was a merry, noisy night, with its feast of the King and Queen of the Bean. Mary Stuart always kept the festival in great splendour at Holyrood, decking one of her Maries with all the Royal jewels as Queen of the Bean. Villagers,

in their own way, were as merry and more noisy, and would run about in high spirits, and awaken the poultry. As for the crowing of the cocks, thus rudely aroused,

> "Some say, that ever 'gainst that season comes
> Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
> The bird of dawning singeth all night long."
>
> (*Hamlet*, Act I. Scene 1.)

Thus the story recorded by Boulainvilliers comes to no more than this: Jeanne d'Arc was born on Twelfth Night, January 6. The festivity and the cock-crowings were the usual accompaniments of the festival.

A new myth, however, has been evolved about the birth of the Maid. Her latest historian says, "From the first, people wanted to make out that the marvels which had signalised the nativity of Jesus were repeated on the advent of Jeanne d'Arc. It was imagined that she was born on the night of Christmas (*Noël*). The shepherds of the village, moved by an unspeakable joy of which they knew not the cause, ran about in the dark to seek for the unknown marvel. The cocks" (behaved as they do in the letter of Boulainvilliers). "Thus the child had in her cradle her Adoration of the Shepherds."

Christmas is not Twelfth Night, though the critic identifies the two festivals. There were no shepherds in the case,—swine-herds there may have been,—but the villagers "knew nothing of the birth of the Maid," says Boulainvilliers, and therefore did not adore and disturb the cradle of the newborn child of Jacques d'Arc. Learning hath its bubbles as legend has, "and these are of them." (*Macbeth*, Act I. Scene 3.) We may take it, without undue credulity, that Jeanne d'Arc was born on January 6, 1412. Of her earliest years, till she was twelve or thirteen, nothing is recorded except her participation in the pastimes of the village children.

An intelligent girl of twelve or thirteen, even in a remote and relatively quiet corner, would hear abundant talk concerning the great wars, and the havoc wrought by the English, and the *routiers*

or armed bands, who fought now for England and Burgundy, now for the Armagnacs, the French party; or plundered for their own hands, taking advantage of the prevalent anarchy. It were a strange mistake to think that when there were no newspapers there was no news, and no interest in public affairs. In countries such as France then was, as in the Highlands in the eighteenth century, or in Africa now, it was the duty of every wayfarer to tell what news he had, and to gather more. On the roads, pedlars, merchants, and pilgrims were always passing to and fro, all eager to hear or to tell any new thing. As in the Douglas wars of King's men and Queen's men, in the minority of James VI, everybody took sides. The boys in Scotland fought for King or Queen, James or Mary; and when Jeanne told her judges that her brothers and the other boys of Domremy, French in sympathy, came bleeding home from fights with the boys of Maxey, on the other side of the river, who were Burgundians, we may be certain that, though they would have thrown stones in any case, those stones were thrown in honour of the cause which they heard their fathers profess. The elders of Domremy and Maxey did not fight, but argued on the Armagnac or the Burgundian side. They heard of Baugé Bridge and of Verneuil fight, and rejoiced or regretted the results, little as these affected their daily lives. Born on the right side of the Meuse, Jeanne might have been Burgundian in sympathy. Born on the left side, the sorrows of France were her inspiration.

She scarcely regarded herself, we saw, as a native of France. Voices bade her "go into France," as if Domremy were outside of France. (She also, later, spoke of the Ile de France as "France.") But her pitying loyalty to the Dauphin—while he remained uncrowned she never spoke of him as "king"—was a matter of personal as much as of patriotic sentiment.

The intellectual influences that reached her were those of the Church, of common talk, and of local tradition,—in fact, of folklore. A girl who constantly frequented the village church, which was only severed by the graveyard from her father's garden close,

would hear sermons that touched on politics, and on the sorrows of her uncrowned king. Wandering Cordeliers, mendicant Franciscan brethren, as a rule French in sympathy, might be entertained by her father, and would talk politics of their own sort by her father's fireside. Jeanne's first conception of her mission was that she must lead her prince to be consecrated at Reims with the holy oil, brought by an angel to St. Remy. She could not discover by the light of nature the mystic efficacy of the consecration of the monarch, and of the holy oil from the *Sainte Ampoule* (*ampulla*) of St. Remy, the patron of her village church and of Reims. The *curé*, Minet, who baptized her, and other clerics, were likely to preach much on the famous legend of the village patron saint. Concerning other saints, the preachers, and ecclesiastical folklore and mystery plays, would inevitably give copious information. Relics were abundant, and were carried about for exhibition; women loved to touch them with their rings. Jeanne and other children bore garlands of flowers to saintly shrines, to St. Bermont, for example, and heard the chapel legends. To her Charlemagne was as much a saint as St. Louis; but her favourites were St. Catherine of Alexandria, and St. Margaret; her sister was named after St. Catherine, to whom a church in Maxey was dedicated.

Neither lady has any sufficient historical credentials. Though the dialectical skill with which St. Catherine vanquished the heathen doctors cannot have been, to the ignorant Jeanne, the most attractive portion of her legend, Jeanne was to stand up like Catherine against contentious doctors, first at Poitiers, in the dawn of her great adventure; last, at its close, in Rouen. St. Catherine could not have shown more acuteness, loyalty, and untaught sagacity than Jeanne. St. Margaret was of almost equal renown. Relics of St. Margaret, her head, belt, and one arm, were farmed out for forty-six *francs* eight *gros* to two Macon men, who probably carried them about and exhibited them for money. But as this was done in January–August 1441, ten years after the death of the Maid, she was unaffected by the exhibition of the relics. Both

Saints were beautiful, and were sought by many wooers. Jeanne, according to several knights who had been much in her company, did not arouse their passions, "because of the goodness which is in her," *propter bonitatem suam*, says one of them, Bertrand de Poulengy. Few, if any, fair Saints were like Jeanne in this respect, they were always pursued by enterprising admirers.

The third of Jeanne's spiritual guides, St. Michael, was very popular in France at the time. He guarded the castle of St. Michael in Normandy against the English, was an armed and militant archangel, and figured in the standard of Charles VII.

Every child in France had many opportunities of seeing images and relics of the Saints, and their effigies on the windows of the churches. Each pious child was, and still is, apt to have a special devotion to some Saint or Saints. In these ways Jeanne did not differ from devout boys and maids, such as St. Theresa was when she set forth, as a little girl, to seek martyrdom among the Moors.

But Jeanne's desire was to do rather than to suffer. Meanwhile she played and danced with the other boys and girls, till when she was about thirteen, came the sudden change in her life, came the visions and the Voices. After that, she says, she seldom danced and sang.

The sports of the children were associated with ideas on the borders of folklore and religion. The fairy folklore influenced Jeanne not at all, though it was to have for her the most perilous consequences. The place of the oak, and of other trees, in ancient religions of tree-worship, has been illustrated by the learning of Mr. Frazer, for classical beliefs; and, thanks to the stories of Druids in Celtic Britain, is popularly known. Old religions die hard, melting into peasant superstitions; and these clung about the oaks of Domremy as much as about Eildon Hill.

Within half a league of Domremy, and visible, Jeanne said, from the door of her father's house, was a forest called Oakwood, *le Bois Chesnu*, *nemus quercosum*. Now, according to Jean Brehal, Inquisitor, and one of the clerical legists who were judges in the Trial for the Rehabilitation of the Maid (1450–1456), the old

name of the forest was *Nemus Canutum* (*Bois Chenu*), "whence grew," says Brehal, "an ancient popular rumour, that a Maid should be born in this place, who should do great deeds." Brehal then quotes a prophecy of Merlin to the effect that "a marvellous Maid will come from the *Nemus Canutum*, for the healing of nations." In the prophecies attributed to Merlin by Geoffrey of Monmouth (1140) there is talk of a Maid from the *Nemus Canutum*, which had come, says Brehal, to be understood as referring to the *Bois Chesnu*. The *vulgaris et antiqua precrebuit fama*,—the echo of the supposed prophecies of Merlin won its way, like the predictions of Thomas the Rhymer, into folklore. The *Nemus Canutum* once identified with the *Bois Chesnu*, on the marches of Loraine (really it was in Britain), a wonderful virgin was expected to come from the marches of Loraine to rescue France. The evolution of the idea is clearly traceable, thus: A generation before the time of Jeanne, a visionary from the south, named Marie d'Avignon, visited Charles VI, then suffering under his ruinous wife, Isabelle of Bavaria. Marie had dreamed a dream in which she beheld arms and armour. She said that she could not use these, and was told that they were for a Maid who should restore France. This dream, known far and wide, was suggested by the Merlin prediction about a Maid from the *Nemus Canutum*; that grove was recognised in the Bois Chesnu on the marches of Loraine, and in that region, folklore averred that "a Maid who is to restore France, ruined by a woman, shall come from the marches of Loraine." Prophecies from all sorts of sources were always current in the Middle Ages. This folklore fable was to have a great effect on Jeanne's career.

The alleged prophecies of Bede and Merlin were widely circulated in manuscripts. They were apt to be quoted in sermons; they became matters of popular information; they were constantly consulted and applied to any new notable events. There is no reason to suppose that "forged prophecies" of Merlin were "the means by which the young inspired girl was put in motion"—by some unknown churchmen, or that "without these pious frauds the miracles of the Maid would never have

been wrought." The inspiration of the Maid arose in her visions and Voices, in 1424 or 1425. We have no evidence that she had heard of the Merlin prophecy of the Victorious Virgin till after she announced her mission,—till 1428–1429,—and no fraudulent priest was needed to convey to her ears the "ancient popular rumour."

The oak wood, in which swine, the chief exportable commodity of the region, fed on the acorns, also sheltered wolves; and the story ran that they never harmed the sheep shepherded by Jeanne. The enemy never touched the cattle of any of her familiars. This tale clearly comes from Domremy, with the story of the crowing cocks, and suggests that the villagers suffered little, if at all, from plunderers. As the flocks of the villagers were pastured on the common near the village, and watched by the children of various parents in their turn, it is probable that all the little shepherdesses were as fortunate as Jeanne. According to a hostile contemporary, the birds fed from her lap, which has nothing to surprise us, if the child sat quietly alone. Thoreau was not unique in possessing the intimacy of birds; and a chaffinch has sat on my leg and looked friendly even at me, in a little wood; while the shy kingfisher has perched on my fishing-rod; and a "heather linty," on the Naver, has flown to seek my protection from a hawk. The robin, a daring bird, easily learns to feed from any kind hand.

The forest had other tenants than birds and wolves. There was, as Jeanne told her judges, a beech near Domremy called "the Ladies' tree" or "the Fairies' tree," and hard by there was a fountain. The water was thought medicinable, and Jeanne had seen people come thither to be healed of fevers; whether they were any the better or not she did not know. There was a great tree called "the fair May," where she used to dance with other little girls, and weave garlands for our Lady of Domremy, and make a "man of the May," a Jack in the Green. She often heard from her elders that the lady fairies (*Dominæ Fatales*, fatal they proved to her) were conversant there. One of her own god-

mothers, wife of Maire Aubery, or Aubrit, said that *she* had seen the fairies. Jeanne knew not whether this were true or not. Probably the godmother spoke but godmotherly. Jeanne said she had never seen fairies at that tree, as far as she knew. She and the other little girls hung garlands on the boughs; sometimes they left them there, sometimes took them away. She danced there little after she knew of her mission, and sang more than she danced. Her grave days began when she "learned that she must go into France." She never heard that there were fairies in the oak wood. But one of her brothers told her that, according to the clash of the countryside, she "had got her case" (*ceperat factum suum*) in the wood. She told her brother that this was untrue.

When she went to the Dauphin at Chinon, some asked her if the *Bois Chesnu* was in her country, because there were prophecies that thence should come a Maid to do wonders. She herself had no belief in this prediction. If so she was wiser than her learned seniors. We shall find later that she spoke of the prophecy, or of a similar saying, in 1429, before she went to Chinon.

The judges at Rouen had made inquiries at Domremy, and put the questions in folklore (or, as they thought, dæmonology), to which Jeanne replied. They asked what she knew of "those who travel in the air with the fairies." She had heard the talk of them, "but does not believe in it." We have more folklore in the evidence of Morel, a peasant of Greux. Since the Gospel of St. John was read aloud in the fairy haunts, the fays go there no more. The Sunday in Lent called *Lætare* was styled "the day of Fountains," and then boys and girls used to dance at the Fairy tree, and picnic there, having little cakes made for them, and would drink the water and sing at the *Fontaine des Groseillers*. The tree, according to Jeanne Thesselin, was said, in a romance which she had heard read aloud, to have been the trysting-place where Pierre, Lord of Bourlemont, met his fairy love, as Thomas of Ercildoune met his Fairy Queen at the Eildon tree. The feasts below the tree were perfectly recognised gatherings. Pierre

de Bourlemont, Lord of the Manor, and his wife, Beatrix, used to take part in these rural revels, usually held on the Sunday in Lent called *Lætare*, or *des Fontaines*. They drank of the fountain; the Church patronised what may have been a survival of paganism, or may have been a mere traditional holiday. There was no evidence that Jeanne went to that tree alone: she did what all the young people did and continued to do.

The judges made their own bad use of the information. To us it only proves that the children were gay and merry in Domremy; that they were not subdued by the black cloud of war. The ancient Celtic tree-worship, perhaps, lent grace to the romance of the life of the children, then as now. "In spring," said Gerardin, a peasant sixty years of age, "that tree is as fair as lily flowers, the leaves and branches sweep the ground." These people were not brutalised. The same witness said that he had known the Maid. "She was modest, simple, devout; went gladly to church and to sacred places; worked, sewed, hoed in the fields, and did what was needful about the house."

This is a summary of all that the surviving neighbours of Jeanne had to say, in 1450–1456, about the pensive dark-haired girl with the happy face. The questions to which answers were demanded of the neighbours, at the Trial of Rehabilitation, conducted by the Inquisitor in 1450–1456, were (after preliminaries as to her near kinsfolk and godparents):

1. Was she early and duly instructed in faith and morals, considering her age and social position?

2. How did she behave in youth, from her seventh year till she left her father's house?

3. Did she often, and willingly, frequent church and holy places?

4. How did she occupy herself in this period of her youth?

5. Did she confess herself often and willingly?

6. What do you know about her in connection with the fairy tree and fountain?

7. How did she leave home, and what do you know of her journey (to Chinon).

8. Was information taken in her native place, by authority of her judges, when she was held captive by the English?

9. When she once left home for Neufchâteau, by reason of the men-at-arms, was she always in the company of her parents?

These were the questions put to survivors who had known Jeanne at Domremy. This part of the examination began in January 1455–1456. Of no village folk in that remote age is so much known as is known about the folk of Domremy. By reason of the Maid their obscure names and their ways will never be forgotten while civilisation endures. "She was such that, in a way of speaking, all the people of Domremy were fond of her." She ploughed, watched the cattle, sewed, and did other woman's work. She was sometimes in church when her parents thought that she was in the fields. When she heard the bell for Mass, she came to church. She went often to confession. "There was not a better in the two villages" (Domremy and Greux). "For the love of God she gave alms; and if she had money would have given it to the curate, Guillaume Fronte, for Masses to be said." "She often went to church when other girls went to dance." She used to urge the beadle to ring the church bells punctually, giving him little presents. Her little friend Hauviette wept sorely when the Maid left Domremy, "she loved her so much for her goodness." Often she withdrew from the games of the children to pray, and they used to laugh at her. She was wont to nurse sick people; she took care of Simon Musnier when he was ill, as he well remembered. She would lie by the hearth all night, and let poor people sleep in her bed.

Nicolas Bailly, who had examined twelve or fifteen Domremy witnesses for the English judges of 1431, said that they gave much the same testimony as the twenty-eight witnesses gave in 1456. He sent in his reports, and was told by his employer that he and his assistants were "false Armagnacs."

Indeed the prosecution, in 1431, had to make the most of the wickedness of the Fairy tree at Domremy, and to assert that a godmother who told the Maid that she had seen fairies was a

bad old woman; Domremy being noted for its witches. Jeanne was a witch, and did witchcraft under the Fairy tree, and had a mandrake, a forbidden root of magic.

This is one of the most nefarious parts of the accusation. Nothing bad could be found in the evidence given at Domremy in 1431, nothing more than folklore gossip, so the harmless Fairy tree, frequented by all the young people, was dwelt upon; and reports of the blameless, charitable, industrious, and devout life of the Maid were suppressed.

As far as the evidence from Domremy goes, till she asserted her mission, in May 1428, Jeanne was an ordinary example of the good, amiable, kind, religious peasant girl, liked by all, but laughed at a little, by the other young people, for her earnest piety. When she announced her mission, she said that God had called her "to go into France" and help the Dauphin. If she then told anything about the *manner* of her calling, the Voices and visions, the fact is nowhere reported. Of her *conseil*, as she called it, of "her brothers the Saints," she only spoke in general terms. She did not speak out till her trial at Rouen, and then could not be induced or compelled to offer details. Her soldiers had no idea that St. Michael was their General. Her trusted equerry and her very confessor knew not that she was visited by St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Michael.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST VOICES AND VISIONS

"Ah listen, 'tis the nightingale,
And in the wood he makes his wail
Within the apple tree!

He sings for sorrow and distress
Of many a maiden loverless,
Thank God, no song for me!"

So one may paraphrase the sweet old French folk-song of the girl who has made up her mind not to be a nun,

Serais je nonette? Crois que non!

The songs that have been on the lips of singing girls through so many generations, lilts that were chanted in Jeanne's own time, usually begin

Derrière chez mon père,

and speak of "My father's garden close."

"Within her father's garden-stead
There are three white lilies,
With the maiden to the lily-bed,
With her soul to Paradise,"

says a ballad preserved by Gérard de Nerval. These ancient ditties tell us, like the feasts and dances below "the fair May, lovelier than lilies," of the mirth that was in old France despite the cruel wars. Perhaps folk were not less happy then, or less innocent, than the peasants of our time, as described in *La Terre*, by Monsieur Emile Zola. They slaved in no factories.

They knew no conscription. They had a consoling and poetic creed.

We have seen that Jeanne had her share in the songs and the dances. But it was where the birds, in the French ballads, sing "Marry, maidens, marry!" it was "in her father's garden close" that the Voices came to Jeanne, the Voices which were to make her, like Montrose,

"At once her country's glory and its shame."

We have two accounts of how the Voices came to the Maid. They are not irreconcilable. The earlier is found in a letter of June 21, 1429, already quoted, written by Percéval de Boulainvilliers to John (or Philip?), Duke of Milan,—"my most honoured Lord." The writer was "counsellor-chamberlain" of the King, Charles VII, and Seneschal of Berry. He had been employed in collecting recruits for French service in Scotland and Lombardy. Probably he wrote his letter of June 21, on the evidence of stories brought from Domremy by envoys of the learned Commission which examined the Maid at Poitiers in March–April 1429; or he may even have had a second-hand knowledge of what she herself said to these doctors. He says that, in her thirteenth year, she, with some other girls, who were watching the sheep in the common meadow, ran a foot race for a bunch of flowers, or some such prize. She won so easily, and ran so fleetly, that in the eyes of lookers on her feet did not seem to touch the ground. One of the girls cried, "Jeanne, I see you flying close to the earth!" "When the race was over, and Jeanne, at the limit of the meadow, *was, as it were, rapt and distraught*" (*rapta et a sensibus alienata*), "resting and recovering herself, there was near her a youth who said, 'Jeanne, go home, for your mother says she needs you.'" Believing that it was her brother, or some other boy of the neighbourhood, she went home in a hurry. Her mother met and scolded her, asking why she had come home and left her sheep.

"Did you not send for me?" asked the innocent Maid.

"No!" said her mother.

Supposing that the boy had played a trick on her, she intended to return to her playmates, when suddenly a brilliant cloud passed before her eyes, and from the cloud came a voice saying "that she must change her course of life, and do marvellous deeds, for the King of Heaven had chosen her to aid the King of France. She must wear man's dress, take up arms, be a captain in the war, and all would be ordered by her advice." The Maid was stupefied by such a portent, and incredulous; but the appearances continued by day and night! She told of them to none but the *curé*, and, in 1429, these experiences had lasted for almost five years.

On the evidence of Boulainvilliers, the date of the first experience must apparently have been 1424–1425, when Jeanne, as she said at her trial, was, as she believed, about thirteen. The command, mentioned by Boulainvilliers, about wearing man's dress (if such a command she received), was not earlier than February 1429. By the statement of Boulainvilliers, as by her own account, Jeanne never dreamed of aiding the Dauphin before the abnormal suggestions of the Voices came. By her own version she did not even speak of them to her *curé* or any other priest. Boulainvilliers said she spoke to her *curé* only. As for Jeanne's own account of her Voices, when examined at Rouen in 1431, she frankly told her judges that "you may ask me about such or such a thing, concerning which I might answer truly, and about another thing I would not answer."

She persisted in this attitude. She would swear to tell truth "as far as the questions were pertinent to the trial" (*tangentes ad processum*), or to faith (*ad fidem*), but *she* must be the judge of what was pertinent. About certain matters, especially those visions concerning her king, she could not answer without perjuring herself—without breaking an oath of silence. On other matters she could not speak without permission from her Voices. About them, and about her visions of Saints, she could not be brought to enter into detail. As concerns her report of her visions and Voices, when she felt free to speak out, we may accept her evidence

as absolutely veracious. Her experiences, astonishing as they seem, were real to her; she was

> "as true as truth's simplicity,
> And simple as the infancy of truth."

Not even the threat of torture and the sight of the rack broke her determination to conceal certain revelations.

Before giving the account of her visions and auditions which Jeanne presented to her judges, it is necessary to say that no critic, however sceptical, consistently doubts her veracity. To the last day of her life, though her faith in the heavenly origin of her experiences was shaken for an hour, she declared that the phenomena, whatever else they might be, were objective, as we say; that they had an external cause, were not illusions, but manifestations of beings other than herself. As M. Anatole France declares, "she had visions; these were neither feigned nor produced by trickery (*contrefaites*). She really believed that she heard voices which spoke to her, and came from no human lips. . . . I have raised no doubts as to the sincerity of Jeanne. No man can suspect her of falsehood."

Her own account of their origin, as given to her judges, ran thus: "When I was thirteen years old (or about thirteen) I had a Voice from God, to help me in my conduct. And, the first time, I was in great fear. It came, that Voice, about midday, in summer time, in my father's garden. I had not" (clearly in answer to a question) "fasted on the previous day. I heard the Voice from the right side towards the church, and I rarely hear it without seeing a light. The light is on the side from which the Voice comes."

It has been supposed that the light always came from the side, and from the same side; whence Jeanne, it is argued, was perhaps hysterical, being subject to unilateral hallucinations. But she told her judges, in answer to a question about an appearance, that "there was much light from every side" (*ab omni parte*), "as was fitting" (*et quod hoc bene decet*).

She was asked how she could see a light that on one occasion was not in front of her; a foolish question to which she did not reply. Her first emotions were those of fear, and of doubt as to what these things should signify. She conceived, however, that they marked her as one set apart: "The first time that I heard the Voice, I vowed to keep my maidenhood so long as God pleased." Her judges, had they known the superstition of the Scottish witches,—"*in our covines*" (assemblies) "*we could do nothing without our maiden*,"—might have twisted even this provisional vow of virginity into a proof of her witchcraft.

She believed that the Voice was of God, and, after hearing it thrice, knew it for the voice of an angel. The Voice was for her soul's health. "How did she know that?" "Because it told her to be good and go often to church, and said that she must go into France." It is not apparent here that this command to go into France was not given from the first, there is no proof that it came later, after a period of mere religious and moral counsel. There is no warrant for the literary hypothesis that the Voices long confined themselves to pious advice, till some priest, hearing from her of the visions, induced the Voices to urge her to ride in the van of the army. On the other hand, when she set out for France in 1429, she told Jean de Novelonpont that, during four or five years (since 1424 or 1425) the Voices had pressed her mission upon her. The Voices had uttered their monitions since she was twelve or thirteen years old.

The phenomena occurred twice or thrice a week. She would not say, yet, in what *form* the Voice came. She then told how she could not stay where she was, after the Voice bade her raise the siege of Orleans (begun in October 1428), and was interrogated on other points.

One examiner, Beaupère, was anxious to connect her experiences, causally, with her fasting in Lent, and with the sound of church bells. She certainly appears to have been apt to hear them during the ringing of church bells, whose music, says Coleridge, fell on *his* ears (as on Dick Whittington's),

"Most like articulate sounds of things to come."

The sounds of bells were not essential to her hearing of the Voices; that, we shall see, is certain. She said that the Voices, on certain occasions, were those of St. Catherine and St. Margaret. "Their heads were crowned with fair crowns, richly and preciously. To speak of this I have leave from the Lord. If you doubt, send to Poitiers, where I was examined before" (March–April 1429).

This is puzzling. She certainly appears to have described her visions, so far, to the Commission at Poitiers. If so, the Doctors kept their own counsel, for there is not a hint of the appearances, or even of the names of the Saints, in any known evidence before her trial in 1431. The "Book of Poitiers," to which she often referred, as we show later, was not produced. Nothing is known about it, and it was not referred to in the Trial of 1450–1456. Clearly some person was interested in causing the concealment or destruction of this record, and that some one was not the Maid. The President of the Board of Examiners was the Archbishop of Reims, who later disparaged the Maid.

Jeanne distinguished the Saints by their naming each other and by their method of salutation. They had been with her for seven years (in 1431, therefore since 1424). She would give no details. She had forgotten which of the lady Saints appeared first, but it was recorded in the Book of Poitiers. Before the two Saints came, the Archangel Michael had appeared, and promised their arrival. Angels were in his company. "I saw them with my bodily eyes, as clearly as I see you; and when they departed I used to weep, and wish that they would take me with them." She would not, she never would, describe the dress and aspect of St. Michael. That she "knew him by his arms," is a statement never made by her; and though a passage from her evidence is quoted to that effect, it does not contain a word on the subject. The voices of the Saints were beautiful, gentle and sweet. She "does not know" if they have arms. She had embraced the Saints, and had touched St. Catherine with her ring, and had

placed chaplets by their images in churches. The judges could could get no more from her.

The Saints appealed to all her senses, they were fragrant; she saw, heard, and touched them. Probably they appeared to her in the guise which they bore in paintings and works of sculpture; probably she saw St. Michael armed, and bearing the balances. She would not tell. We do not know why she should not have replied on these points; but she "had not permission." If she had answered that she beheld the Saints as they appear in Catholic art, one does not see how such an answer could add to her peril. What trap did she consciously or sub-consciously suspect in these questions? Did she foresee that, if she described the Saints as they were rendered in art, the judges would say, "But the costume of the fourth century, when your Saints lived on earth, was not that of the fifteenth! You have invented your story, or been deceived by fiends!" They cunningly asked her if she had her angels painted? "Yes, as they are painted in churches"; so she parried the thrust. "Do you see them so?" "I refuse to answer further."

One thing is clear; Jeanne made no conscious choice of Saints. She did not know who these shining figures were till they informed her. It is curious that while she, like St. Catherine, was to contend for her life with hostile learned clerks and Doctors, and while (in the words of an English biography of St. Catherine, written when Jeanne was in bondage) "the Archangel Michael came to comfort" the captive Saint; while in prison at Rouen Jeanne never did see St. Michael. Her visions were not modelled on the lines of the contemporary legends of St. Michael and St. Catherine.

It was, apparently, after the arrival of her visions that Jeanne became sedulously devout; for which one witness, who was some twelve years older than she, confessed that he and other young men laughed at her. Since St. Remy was, as we saw, the patron of Domremy, and since the legend of the sacred oil brought for him, and used in consecrating the kings of France at Reims, was

well known everywhere, it was natural that Jeanne should conceive the coronation of the Dauphin to be part of the duty laid on her by her Saints.

For her part, Jeanne resisted, during three or four years, the commands of her Voices,—from 1424 to the spring of 1428. When they bade her go to Robert de Baudricourt, who would give her an armed escort into France, to raise the siege of Orleans, (begun in October 1428), she replied, "I am a poor girl, who cannot ride, or be a leader in war."

The evidence is that Jeanne was not more staid than other little girls till 1424 or 1425, when her visions began; that she then became more devout than other young people; and that she resisted, on the score of her sex, youth, poverty, and ignorance, the summons of her Voices, for three or four years, namely, till the spring of 1428.

An attempt at suggesting a more or less plausible way of envisaging the practical experiences of Jeanne will be given later (Appendix D). Meanwhile it is to be remembered that, for years, the monitions which reached her from the Voices appeared to herself, *even during the visions*, as wild as they would have appeared to her most sceptical neighbours. She retained (she says) her normal common sense even when in the presence of her Saints, in what we might reckon an abnormal condition. This fact differentiates her from the genuine subjects of trance, who are wholly wrapped up in their visions. Jeanne can only be called *une extatique* by critics ignorant of the technical meaning of "ecstasy." "In ecstasy, thought and self-consciousness cease . . . in ecstasy the seer no longer distinguishes himself from what he sees."

On the other hand, hypnotised subjects often retain the normal elements of their character, resisting or trying to resist suggestions from the operator that they should do things contrary to their normal nature. But nobody has yet advanced the hypothesis that Jeanne was frequently hypnotised by her *curé*, and by a succession of other piously fraudulent priests!

We have, perhaps, only one description, by an eye-witness, of

Jeanne at the moment of receiving a saintly message. The witness is her confessor, Pasquerel, who stood by her when, in answer to her letter to Glasdale, tied to an arrow, and shot across the gap in the bridge at Orleans, she was insulted and called "the harlot of the Armagnacs." She wept, she prayed, she was consoled, "because she had news from her Lord." Thus it is clear that her Voices came to her on occasions when she was not alone in a wood, or alone listening to church bells, and interpreting into audible words the rustling of the leaves or the music of the chimes. A lonely wood, or the sound of bells, offered propitious conditions for hearing the Voices; the clamour of a crowd of churchmen in Court was unpropitious; and in these circumstances the utterances of the Voices were but indistinctly audible. These are the facts, and nothing indicates that Jeanne, when she heard the Voices, was noticeably "dissociated," or in any manifestly abnormal condition. Nor is it true that she was "perpetually hallucinated," and, "as a rule" (*le plus souvent*), "in no condition to discern between truth and falsehood," as has been alleged.

There is no evidence for these statements. We always find Jeanne keenly alive to her surroundings, very vigilant and observant.

In battle she watched for every sign of failure in the enemy's strength and resolution, and kept a keen eye on the hostile guns; "that gun will be your death, if you stay where you are," she said, opportunely, to d'Alençon at the siege of Jargeau. D'Alençon changed his position, and the gun slew the man who later occupied the spot.

We never hear of Jeanne absorbed and immobile in trance, like Socrates at the siege of Potidæa. The peculiarity of her visions is that they never interfered with her alert consciousness of her surroundings, as far as the evidence goes. She heard them on the scaffold where men preached at her, with the cart waiting to carry her to the fire; and she heard them as distinctly as she heard the preacher whose insolence she interrupted.

CHAPTER IV

DOMREMY IN TIME OF WAR

HAD there been no cruel wars in France, Jeanne would probably have lived and died as obscurely as her little friend Hauviette. Her mission was, by conciliation if possible, if not, by the sword, to free France from the English invaders; to restore the rightful king; and to make him reign well and in Christian fashion. Had there been no pressure of national danger and of enslavement, it does not seem probable that she, like her elder contemporary St. Colette the daughter of a carpenter, would have embraced the religious life, and have reformed some convents and founded others. Jeanne was a child of the free air, not of the cloister She made no vow of perpetual maidenhood; she would remain, as we saw, a maiden "while it was the will of God"; that is, probably, till she had accomplished her task. She had no ambition to be a Saint; to deliver France and restore the rightful king was her one ambition, save that she dreamed, when France was free, of some great deed of Christian chivalry, with England and France allied.

The distress of France was her ruling and inspiring motive. Many regions were depopulated; in many the wild wood had overrun the cultivated soil; in others agriculture could only be practised near castles and walled towns. Under the sound of the warning horn or church bell, the cattle would run of themselves to places of refuge. Whether the vicinity of Domremy was thus harried and devastated or not, is matter of dispute. In the battle of Verneuil, of August 17, 1424, France was beaten to her knees. If we are to look for any one national sorrow or disaster which especially stimulated the Maid, Verneuil, in the apparent year

From F. C. Lowell's *Joan of Arc.*

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and summer of her earliest visions (1424), naturally attracts the eyes. But neither from Jeanne nor from any one of her contemporaries in Domremy do we gather that she thought more seriously than other children about the condition of her country, till the light came and the Voice spoke to her of "the great pity that was in France." She may have wept in secret, she does not say so; and none of those who speak of her devotions add that she was melancholy through patriotic regret.

Historians, especially the late erudite and sympathetic M. Siméon Luce, have recovered from old documents many particulars of the tribulations of Domremy between 1419 and 1428. The sight of these sorrows is supposed to have roused Jeanne to the desperate resolution of riding in the van of armies. But she certainly was no Maid of Saragossa, no rival of that "brave, bonny lass, Mary Ambree," *when the waves of war reached her own village.* She did not take jack (*jaseran*) and steel cap and sword, like the legendary "fair maiden Liliard" who "fought upon her stumps" when

"the bold Buccleugh 'gainst stout Lord Evers stood,"

at the battle of Ancrum Moor. It was not at home that she found "great pity," but "in France"; wherefore to France she would go. She was not a virago. Her first wish was to prevail on the English to go home peacefully as the allies, no longer the scourges, of France. She was religious first; she would have her Dauphin consecrated, would have him reign as "God's vassal," as His lieutenant over a peaceful and devout realm. St. Colette reformed convents; Jeanne would bring a kingdom back to freedom and duty and religion. She had that faith which moves mountains; it was by faith that she wrought military miracles for the conversion of the English. The sight of the sufferings of her village could not, alone, suggest these ideas, and did not suggest them to any other child in Domremy and Greux. Childhood is careless and elastic, though patriotic; and the troubles which Jeanne actually witnessed at home were less than those to which the boys and girls of the Border, English and Scottish, were hardened by familiarity.

On many nights in the year the prickers of Bewcastle and Tyne were riding through the steadings of Liddesdale, burning, driving cattle, plundering, slaying any Armstrong, Elliot, or Scott, who drew sword. On as many nights the Elliots, Armstrongs, and Scotts were leaving empty byres, weeping widows, and fatherless children in peel towers of Tynedale. Cattle were taken, Scottish lairds and tenants were slain, houses were burned; and the stolen cattle, or other cattle, were recovered; English gentlemen and farmers had their throats cut and their dwellings fired.

On other days the combatants met at races and football matches and marriages. Musgraves of England wedded Armstrongs of Scotland; Gordons of Lochinvar took as brides Grahams of Netherby. We read accurately kept balance-sheets of slayings and revenges, of robberies and recoveries, in the "Border Papers" of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. All these things were in the day's work; nobody made great moan; no little girl of the Border took it upon herself to save her country.

To modern historians and literary men such sufferings and such anxiety, such patrollings, and watchings from the tower-top, and lighting of beacon fires, and ringing of the church bells backward, seem terrible enough to create and inspire a Pucelle! Hundreds of years of these agitating experiences produced no Pucelle on the Border, and only one on the Meuse.

"Stout hearts of men!" Light hearts of children! People grew stoical, and took what pleasures came in their way. Never were games and athletic sports pursued more eagerly, says M. Siméon Luce, than during the Hundred Years' War. Hockey and football were the favourite rural pastimes. Domremy was a healthy, happy place, a village proverbially remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants, and justly remarkable, as we see when we look at the ages of the contemporaries of Jeanne, the witnesses in the Trial of Rehabilitation (1450–1456). The ages of witnesses are 70, 35, 80, 70, 56, 54, 60, 56, 70, 60, 90, 60, 40, 45, 45, 60, 44, 50, 46, 66, 50, 57, 44, 50, 60, 54, 64, 60, 60, 64, 38, 47.

The mother of the Maid, in 1456, was, allowing that she married

at seventeen, sixty-four years of age. These poor labouring folk lived a wholesome life in Domremy, were mainly engaged in tillage and in growing pigs for distant markets, and did not shorten their days by lamenting their perils and sorrows. Yet perils enough they had passed through, living, as they did, surrounded by fighting and plundering lords, Dukes of Loraine and Bar, the Comte de Vaudemont, the Damoiseau de Commercy, who fought now for Burgundy, now for France, now for his own hand. In 1419 this chief was engaged in a private war with neighbours, and, far from being heartbroken, Jeanne, as she says, "helped well in driving the beasts from and to the island castle, named the Island, for fear of the men-at-arms." But, on reflection, she must have done this after 1419, when she was rather young for a shepherdess, and the castle had not yet been rented by her father and others.

In 1419 the Damoiseau de Commercy fought his private foes at Maxey, the village on the right bank of the Meuse, opposite Domremy. He took and held to ransom a few prisoners, among them the husband of one of the godmothers of the Maid. He was an *écuyer*, an Esquire: the event was fortune of war.

This was no affair of an assault on poor labourers. The men were noble; and in the treaty for their ransom, they swear to keep it *sur l'honneur de nos noblesses*, "on our honour as men of noble birth."

In 1419–1420 bands of English and Burgundians prowled and plundered, and Jacques d'Arc with five or six of his neighbours hired the castle of the Isle as a place of safety for their cattle. Thither the pigs, sheep, and kine were driven at every rumour of the approach of raiders; but we do not learn that the castle, with its fortified walls and moat, was ever actually assailed.

In 1423 the Duke of Loraine was at strife with the famous La Hire, later Jeanne's companion-in-arms. In this affair one Turlaut, who had married a cousin of the Maid, was killed by a ball or stone from a gun, at the siege of Sermaize, a long way from Domremy. At the age of eleven a child is not too much impressed by the death of a distant connection in war.

On October 7, 1423, the people of the linked villages of Domremy and Greux formally acknowledged, through their representatives, a yearly debt for protection money to the Damoiseau de Commercy. The sum to be paid was two *gros* for each hearth or household; in the case of widows, one *gros*. Now a *gros* was merely a fraction of a *livre*; twenty-five *gros* (as a rule) went to one gold crown, or *écu d'or*.

In the long legal contract between the peasants and the Damoiseau, Jacques d'Arc appears as *doyen* of his village. The *gardes* or protection money answered to the blackmail which Highland chiefs levied on their Lowland neighbours in return for protecting their cattle and recovering their cows when stolen. But in Scotland the contract was illegal; in France it was guarded by all the solemnity and technical jargon of the law. Manifestly if the peasants received the protection for which they paid, the sum of two *gros* yearly for each household was a rather low police rate. The population of Domremy is roughly reckoned at thirty hearths or households, and Greux was of much the same size. Thus for sixty householders (leaving widows out of account) the Damoiseau would draw 120 *gros* annually. But a great modern authority reckons the impost at not less than 220 gold crowns (*écus d'or*) payable at Martinmas. Even if we estimate the households of Domremy and Greux at eighty instead of sixty, it is impossible to see how a yearly impost of 160 *gros* could amount to 220 gold crowns, for the *gros* was a fraction of the *livre*, and there went from two and a half to three and a half livres to the gold crown. In a note to this passage an attempt is made to clear up the facts, and show that the blackmail has been vastly overstated.

One may be permitted to hint that the appalling horrors of life in Domremy, during the childhood of the Maid, have, as they are stated, an air of mythological exaggeration.

"At Domremy all lived in perpetual alarms. There was always a sentinel on the church tower. Each inhabitant, by custom the *curé* himself, went on guard in turn; gazing through

the dust, in the sun, along the pale ribbon of the roads, to spy out the glitter of lances; searching the terrific deeps of the woods; and, at night, watching with horror the horizon lit with the flames of burning villages. At the approach of men-at-arms the watcher set ringing these bells which now pealed for births, now bewailed the dead, now called the people to prayer, now laid a spell on the lightning, now announced dangers. The awakened villagers leaped half-naked to the stalls, and drove the herds towards the fortress enislanded by two branches of the Meuse."

The authorities cited for this brilliant description of affairs in Domremy are, first, Jeanne's often quoted remark about driving the cattle, in case of alarm, to the isle; and, next, the text of a will written in 1393, and containing a reference to the testator's "chapel on the isle." That is all, though there is evidence abundant for burnings and plunderings in adjacent regions, Father Ayroles quotes a sweeping statement of M. Luce: "In most of the villages of the Bassigny work was interrupted, and almost all the mills were destroyed." This remark is based, says the learned father, on a record concerning two mills in one parish. I can find none of the afflicted villages in Chanoine Dunand's map of the Meuse valley from Neufchâteau to Vaucouleurs.

Perhaps we need not accept the picturesque account of perpetual alarm, and half-naked peasants at Domremy as convincingly vouched for by the records of the sufferings of other villages, and the statement of Jeanne about the island. In fact, we know but two cases in which there is evidence of grave trouble at Domremy during the residence there of the Maid.

In 1425, Henri d'Orly drove a *creagh* of the cattle of Domremy and Greux, drove it many miles, to his castle of Doulevant and to Dommartin le Franc. The lady of Ogiviller "brought the cry" to the Comte de Vaudemont, at Joinville, who sent Barthélemy de Clefmont, with some seven or eight riders, on the "hot trod," just as Buccleugh and Watty Grieve send men to follow Jamie Telfer's kye, in the ballad. They recovered the kine, fought a skirmish

like that in which the Captain of Bewcastle was taken by the Armstrongs, and the kye were restored to the restful meadows of Greux and Domremy.

One sees no reason why such an event should cause a child on the marches of Loraine, any more than a child in the Debatable Land, to become a warrior maid, a prophetess, and a virgin martyr. Genius would have been common in Liddesdale, if a reiving environment were the necessary condition for its development. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh or whither it goeth." He who will may satisfy his curiosity by explaining that the Voices of Jeanne came to her first in 1425 (not 1424), and were the subjective results of the raiding and recovery of some cows. The Voices did not speak to the child about local troubles, but bade her leave her home and "go into France."

It was M. Siméon Luce, after Quicherat the most sympathetic and erudite student of the history of the Maid, who discovered the record of the *creagh* of cattle driven from Domremy, and of the successful pursuit on the "hot trod" in the summer of 1425. Delighted with his *trouvaille*, he supposed that the recovery of the cows, with the repulse of the English at Mont-St.-Michel, in the end of June 1425, and the invasion of the Barrois by the English, are events which "explain, at least in some measure, the first appearance of the Archangel to little Jeanne." He then "combines his information." If Boulainvilliers is right in his story that Jeanne first heard the Voice and saw the light after being "rapt and as it were out of her senses" by the exertion of a foot race, then the race, M. Luce argues, was one of the rejoicings after the regaining of the kye. But, after the excitement of winning the prize of the race, the bouquet of flowers, Jeanne, in a moment of pious reaction, "would almost reproach herself as she remembered that all the evils which her native village had escaped by a remarkable favour of Providence" (and of eight riders) "continued to ravage the rest of the realm. . . . This is, at least by our hypothesis, the chain of circumstances by which

Jeanne was led to think herself called by Heaven to be an instrument in the salvation of her country."

"It is to consider too curiously to consider thus." The first Voices may be even more probably dated in the summer of 1424, perhaps after the disaster of Verneuil on August 17. In fact, we do not know anything at all about the conditions which determine the advent of Voices, lights, and angels.

Had Jeanne, at the age of twelve or thirteen, been constant and fervent in prayer, and given to prolonged fasts in Lent, and had the first Voice and vision come in Lent instead of in the height of summer, her religious exercises might have predisposed her, and her macerated body might have prepared her for hallucinations. But we have no evidence that she was so precociously ascetic, or so precociously devout. It was *after* the visions appeared that she grew serious, pensive, and prayerful: she says so herself.

We must not be thought to speak too lightly of the state of Domremy, Maxey, and Greux. To do so is not our purpose. We endeavour to attain to the contemporary point of view; to show how rural people, in the Middle Ages and later, comported themselves in times of great anxiety and of occasional peril. They beheld their own condition with other eyes and faced them with stouter hearts than ours, as we look back on the picture of raids and burnings which research reveals.

In considering the surroundings of Jeanne in youth, we must not persuade ourselves that her environment accounts for her.

The most ardent and learned explorer of the surroundings of Jeanne in early youth, M. Siméon Luce, writes, "To show that the Maid found in her environment some of the elements of her inspiration is not, if properly understood, to diminish her merit and her greatness."

Her greatness was in her own spirit, and in "something yet more widely interfused."

It is very probable that, as the years passed by, a deeper and more solemn element entered into the religion of the Maid. Her

chief and central devotion came to be given, not to her Saints, but to her Master (*Messire*), to Our Lord and to the name of Jesus. Her letters, during her mission, were usually headed JESUS MARIA. The ring of *laiton*, or *electrum*, a heavily alloyed gold, which her father and mother gave her, bore the names JESUS MARIA. Though so much was said about this ring, at which she loved to gaze, her possession of it may have implied no special devotion to the divine Name. Such rings, peculiar in style,—no seal, but a broad central ridge, and two sloping sides engraved with the Holy Names (or with figures of Saints, the Virgin, and the priest with the chalice),—were common in the early fifteenth century, and were supposed to be sovran against epilepsy. The ring, so much suspected by Jeanne's judges, was a common sort of trifle; but her special devotion to our Lord was later displayed on her standard, and the last word of her dying lips was JESUS. It has been shown, with much learning, that a special devotion to our Lord was inculcated by the begging and preaching friars of the Order of St. Francis (who, as a rule, were in the French interest), and, in 1427–1429, by Bernardino of Siena; while a certain Brother Richard, a foolish enthusiast, is said, probably incorrectly, to have preached "Christ and Country," and he did prophesy the advent of Antichrist, in Champagne, at the end of 1428. The Maid never saw him till she was in the full tide of her successes, and she found out his frothy folly: he was the Dr. Cumming of the period.

It may be more important that St. Colette used the name JESUS as the blazon of her reform and the superscription of her letters; and her influence was potent among the devout. The devotion to Jesus, again, may have been suggested to Jeanne by the sermons of Franciscan preachers, though all that we really know about her early relations with them is that at Neufchâteau she confessed herself, twice or thrice, to mendicant friars. It was to her *curé* that she usually confessed; when he could not receive her, she got from him a licence to approach another priest. However it came about, whether in accordance with the example

of St. Colette, then at the height of her fame, or through the influence of sermons by wandering Cordeliers, or through her own musings, the devotion to Our Lord, *Messire*, was the deep foundation of the Maid's belief before she undertook her great adventure; and in this faith she chose to live and die. Of her Master she never beheld any vision, despite a baseless contemporary rumour. The Saints were "her brothers of Paradise"; her Master was Christ; whom she sought not, like St. Colette, through cruel macerations of the body, and self-inflicted torture, and in helpless ecstasy, but followed over the bridge of war "in armed and iron maidenhood."

CHAPTER V

THE MISSION ANNOUNCED. JEANNE AT NEUFCHÂTEAU

We cannot fix the precise moment when Jeanne yielded to her Voices, and determined to go into France. She would rather have been torn to pieces by horses (*écartelée*), she said, than thus engage in an adventure so foreign to her normal nature, if she had not been sure that the command was of God. But how was she to overcome the practical difficulties; how win access to the Dauphin in one of his *châteaux* by the Loire? The distance was great,—four hundred and fifty miles,—much of the intervening country was Anglo-Burgundian in allegiance, and all the roads were infested by robber bands.

The captain of the nearest walled town held for the Dauphin, Robert de Baudricourt, commanding in Vaucouleurs, some twelve miles distant from Domremy, was obviously the best person to whom she could apply for aid and escort. She must have heard of Robert all her life, and especially in the spring of 1427, when her father, as representing the interests of the villagers of Domremy, had personal dealings with that captain. There was one Guiot Poignant who had been caution for the payment of the 220 *écus d'or* due to Robert de Saarbruck, Damoiseau de Commercy. The *damoiseau* had impounded, for arrears of this money, the goods and cattle of Poignant, and Poignant demanded compensation from the squire or *seigneur* of the villages, and from the villagers themselves. The case was left to arbitration, under the supervision of Robert de Baudricourt.

From her father's conversation Jeanne must have known the kind of person whom she had to deal with in Baudricourt. He

was a blunt practical man of the sword, who had married two rich widows in succession, and who had been fighting, since he could bear arms, in the reckless wars of the marches of Loraine. He had some sense of humour, and there was no nonsense, there were no fine enthusiasms in his nature. His confession, if ever he cleared his conscience in the confessional, might have been like that attributed to Etienne de Vignolles, called La Hire. "I do the things that other men-at-arms do. Oh God, do Thou unto me in this day of battle as I would do to Thee, if Thou wert La Hire and I were God." The more Jeanne knew of de Baudricourt, the more keenly she must have felt that he was not a likely man to welcome a girl of sixteen, who said "the world is out of joint, and I was born to set it right." As it chanced, she used the very words of Hamlet: "*dixit quod erat nata ad hoc faciendum.*"

It was while troops were being recruited in England for a new attack in force on the Dauphin's territories south of the Loire, it was in May 1428, that Jeanne first approached the redoubtable Baudricourt. He must have known that England was determined to make a fresh effort; he probably knew that the little wedge of territory, and the little walled town where he had alone upheld so long the Standard of the Lilies, were to be the object of a special assault. By way of a remedy for all these misfortunes, a peasant girl of sixteen, accompanied by a local clodhopper, came and informed Baudricourt that she had a divine mission to save France. We may imagine that the oaken rafters of the hall rang with his laughter.

It had not been easy for Jeanne to make her way to Baudricourt. Her mother had several times spoken to her about the horror with which her father reflected on his dream of her departure from home in military company. Jeanne was obliged to conceal her purpose. She had a kinsman by affinity, one Durand Laxart, or Lassois, living at Little Burey, a village within a league of Vaucouleurs. Lassois had married the daughter of a sister of Jeanne's mother: he was thus her "cousin

by marriage"; but, as he was greatly her senior, she called him "uncle." His wife, her cousin, was then (or perhaps more probably in January 1429), about to have a child, and Jeanne suggested that Lassois should ask her to attend his wife in her trouble. The Maid, as Beaupère, the most modern-minded man among her judges, declared, "had a good deal of feminine subtlety." Lassois assented, and brought her from Domremy to his own house at Little Burey. In his evidence, Lassois does not distinguish clearly between her two visits of appeal to Baudricourt, the first in May 1428, the last in January–February 1429. On one or the other occasion she asked Lassois, "Don't you know the saying that France is to be made desolate by a woman?" (meaning the mother of Charles VII) "and afterwards restored by a Maid?" At the same time she spoke of her desire to go into France and lead the Dauphin to Reims to be crowned. If she did not also speak of raising the siege of Orleans, this conversation must have been held in May 1428, before Orleans was menaced, for, when Orleans was besieged, she proclaimed its relief as part of her task.

The prophecy—about the ruin and restoration of France by a woman and a maid—is that of Marie d'Avignon, early in the century, and has been explained in a previous chapter. The predictions of Marie d'Avignon were widely known, *firent grand bruit*, says Quicherat. The prediction would be alluded to in sermons, and win its way into current talk.

The prophecy, or saying, probably had its effect on Lassois. He took Jeanne to his house, where she was seen by a young gentleman named Geoffroy du Fay, who already knew her parents, and heard her say that she wished to go into France. Whether this was in 1428 or 1429 is not certain, but a remark of Geoffroy reads as if he met the Maid only on her first visit to Vaucouleurs. If that was so, by May 1428 it was generally known that she had a mission to go to the Dauphin.

Lassois and Jeanne visited Baudricourt; and as Jeanne had no trace of rustic shyness, but spoke to all men with frankness and with noble courtesy, she probably asked him to send her to the

Dauphin at once. This is not, however, to be gathered from the interesting evidence of Bertrand de Poulengy, an esquire then aged about thirty-five, who had known Domremy, had several times visited Jeanne's parents in their house, and had sat beneath its famous tree, when Jeanne was a child of four years of age. In the week of the Ascension of Our Lord (May 1428), Poulengy was with Baudricourt when Jeanne came to him, sent by her Lord, she said. She asked Baudricourt to despatch a message to the Dauphin in these words, "Let him guard himself well, and not offer battle to his foes, for the Lord will give him succour by mid Lent," that is, in March 1429. She said that by God's will she herself would lead the Dauphin to be crowned. Of Orleans she said nothing. Nothing here indicates that Jeanne asked to be sent to the Dauphin *at once*. Perhaps Baudricourt's rebuff consisted merely in a laughing refusal to send any message from a peasant maid. The advice to the Dauphin, not to challenge the English to battle, seems superfluous; at that time he thought of nothing less. Why Jeanne fixed on next March as the date of succour cannot be known.

Jeanne added that the kingdom belonged to God, not to the Dauphin, but that God desired the Dauphin to hold the realm under himself (*en commande, in commendam*). These current ideas of kings as vassals of the King of Heaven, the Maid must have heard of in sermons. It is certain that, in Scotland, many sermons were preached on this topic. The opinion was so common that it is superfluous to invent a secret clerical initiator, the real source of her mission. The very coinage of the period proclaimed that "Christ is King, Christ is Emperor"; *Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* The coins, with these inscriptions, are reproduced in the illustrated life of the Maid, by M. Wallon.

We are told that Jeanne was in spiritual relations with several priests, of whom two are named. One of them was eight years old when Jeanne left Domremy, yet we are told that he heard her in confession! The other had heard her thrice in one Lent, once on another occasion. After delivering herself of her message, the Maid, according to Poulengy, went home, attended by Lassois.

The author or authors of two Chronicles, written about forty years after the event, says that Baudricourt thought of keeping Jeanne as a leaguer-lass, a loose girl for the recreation of his men-at-arms. These authors also aver that, in the following year, Jeanne won Baudricourt's confidence by an extraordinary example of clairvoyance, or *vue à distance*, which Baudricourt reported by letter to the Dauphin. There is no other authority for either story; we are expected to believe the former, and to reject the latter anecdote. Lassois says that Baudricourt more than once advised him to box Jeanne's ears and take her home to her father; but it is uncertain whether this counsel was given during her first or her second visit to Vaucouleurs. Jeanne was not discouraged. One of her biographers tells us that "she was not humiliated or discouraged by the contempt of the captain and the outrages of the garrison, imagining that her Voices had foretold them." Her Voices had said nothing about "outrages of the garrison," there is no mention of such outrages.

A month later, on the eve of St. John, she spoke thus to Michael Lebuin, a boy of her own age: "There is a girl between Coussey and Vaucouleurs who, within the year, will have the King crowned at Reims." She did so about three weeks later than she predicted. She spoke freely of her mission. Before she left home, in 1429, another boy of her age, Jean Waterin, "several times heard her say that she would restore France and the Royal line." Certainly the neighbours were aware of her purpose; for, as we have already seen, her brother told her that the story went about of her having had the notion put into her head at the Fairy tree, which she denied. It is curious that her father did not send her away to his kinsfolk at Sermaize, many leagues distant, unless he reckoned that she might there find opportunity of an escort on her way to the Dauphin.

About July 17 or 18, 1428, the Governor of Champagne, Antoine de Vergy, marched a smaller force than he had expected to raise, for the purpose of reducing the region of Vaucouleurs to the English allegiance. The people of Domremy, with their

cattle, retired a distance of six miles to Neufchâteau, in Loraine. The family of Jeanne lodged there with a woman called La Rousse, who kept an inn; there they dwelt for a fortnight, Jeanne said; later witnesses said for four or five days. Her accusers averred that Jeanne went thither alone, without her parents' permission, and lived an irregular life, associating with loose women, acting as maidservant, and learning to ride. All this was false, and was amply refuted by witnesses of Domremy, who had been at Neufchâteau in July 1428.

At her trial, in 1431, Jeanne was asked why she summoned a young man before the official at Toul in a case of breach of promise of marriage? She answered: "He summoned me, I did not summon him; and there, before the judge, I swore to tell the truth, and, *enfin*, I had never promised to marry him."

Her accusers declared that Jeanne cited the young man for breach of promise of marriage, and that he refused to wed her because of her association with loose women at Neufchâteau. That Jeanne should have promised to marry a young man, after vowing to remain a maiden while it was God's will, and at a moment when she was yearning to go forth on her mission, is impossible. That she sued a reluctant swain before an ecclesiastical court is an absurd accusation. But as she certainly was obliged to go once to Toul, thirty miles from Neufchâteau, on this business (and "several times" in a fortnight, if we believe her accusers), she must have disliked Neufchâteau, and been glad, as she said, to return to Domremy. The story, told by most writers, that she confessed to having disobeyed her parents in the matter of the marriage, is a mere blunder. She said nothing of this kind.

At some time or other Jeanne frequented the church of Greux, because the village of Domremy was burned. If de Vergy's men burned the village, why did they not also burn Greux? If they did burn Domremy, the first weeks after Jeanne's return must have seen her father and brothers busy with a task very familiar to the contemporary peasants of Scotland, the rebuilding of their cottages. Happily this labour was favoured by the summer

weather, when the air out of doors, at night, was cool and still Nothing is known of what passed at Domremy, while new roofs were thatched (if the old had been destroyed), and the furniture—probably carried off to Neufchâteau in waggons at the time of the flight—was replaced.

One thing only is certain, by the end of October the Maid must have heard that Orleans was beleaguered by the English, and that they had seized and garrisoned the outposts of the city, the smaller towns on the Loire above and below it. They held and garrisoned Meun and Beaugency, between Orleans and Blois, on one side, and Jargeau, between Orleans and Gien, on the other. If Orleans fell, the English had broken through the centre, as it were, of the defence of the Dauphin, and from this base they might expect to take, one by one, his pleasant cities of Blois, Tours, and Chinon, and all that he had.

CHAPTER VI

THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS BEGUN

HERE we leave Jeanne for a moment: little is known of her life from July 1428 to January 1429. We turn to the siege of Orleans, the Moscow campaign of the English in France. They did not see the signs of the times. In France, as a military novelist of about 1460 says (Bueil, in *Le Jouvencel*), a new generation was coming into action, and new allies from Scotland were in the field.

The Constable, with Sir John Stewart of Darnley, and John Wishart, repulsed the English under Mont St. Michel. Stewart, taking a lesson from the English, dismounted all his men, and had a success. It is to be observed that, in the deadly feud between the Constable and La Trémoïlle, the Scots took sides against the obese Royal favourite.

In September 1427, La Hire and Dunois defeated the English and raised the siege of Montargis,—a gleam of light on a dark horizon.

The English attempt on Orleans, the effort to break the line of the Loire and drive the Dauphin to Spain or Scotland, was, indeed, an insensate scheme, devised in mad self-confidence, and the English were equipped with forces and munitions wholly inadequate. "God knoweth by what advis the siege of the city of Orleans was taken in hand," wrote, in 1433, the Duke of Bedford, Regent for the infant Henry VI, to the English Government. If Bedford did not know to whom fell the responsibility for this wild enterprise, we cannot hope to discover the truth.

Here it may not be out of place to describe, from unpublished

documents, the nature of the English preparations for the complete subjugation of France. The artillery and siege material were collected by the vicars of Enfield and Cheshunt, and by John Parker, Master of the Ordnance for the Earl of Salisbury. Parker drew £666, 13s. 4d. for ordnance, and £66, 7s. 9d. for master mariners and others to carry it across the Channel. He purchased fourteen small brass guns called fowlers; each was one foot and a half in length; each had three chambers, and could throw stones of two pounds in weight. There were three other brass guns with one chamber, and twenty-nine other cannon. Sixteen small "hand-cannons" were supplied, bound with iron rings, with twelve hundred leaden bullets. This kind of hand-cannon, a most monstrous musket, with a rest, was used effectually on the French side, as we shall see, by Master John the Lorainer.

For guns of position, three great iron pieces were furnished, capable of throwing 18-inch stones; two other pieces were of 16-inch calibre. Three more of 18 to 14-inch calibre were bought from another factory. Stones from 24 to 14 inches were purchased, 1214 in all, with 200 stones for the "fowlers." About 320 "pavoises" or strong wide shields used in assaulting fortified positions were provided, and 123 chests of bows and arrows. Four pairs of bellows were commissioned, to be used, if necessary, in casting new guns beyond the sea. From French military science was borrowed the idea of employing quantities of lead to make "samons" for strengthening the feet of the cannon, (*ad usum Francie*). A great wooden instrument, *le vice*, was manufactured, to be used in loading and unloading the guns.

Preparations so immense, and outlay so lavish, were calculated to strike terror into the boldest hearts in France. England was going to work regardless of expense, and employed the latest appliances of military science.

As for the host thus equipped, it was levied, by contract, by Salisbury himself, on the shortest service principle. The men were engaged for a period of six months: the officers were 6

knights bannerets, 34 knights bachelors, 559 esquires, and with 1800 bowmen, including 30 details, there were 2509 men in all. Two hundred and forty combatants, however, did not keep tryst at the port of Sandwich on June 30, 1428, and Salisbury enlisted 450 more archers. A hundred and nineteen men-at-arms, devoid of ambition, had preferred to stay at home in England.

Bedford added, at Paris, 400 lances and 1200 archers, so that, exclusive of pages, Salisbury was at the head of nearly 5000 men. Reinforcements were drawn from garrisons, to the extent of 8 men from Rouen, and so on. By the end of March 1429 the feudal levies of Normandy were called out for the siege of Orleans, and were largely used in guarding convoys. The number of Burgundians employed in the siege is unknown, but they were withdrawn before Jeanne set out to relieve Orleans.

The whole English equipment was much below what Bueil, many years after the events, thought necessary. Writing after his years of war are over, probably about 1460, Bueil remarks that new military inventions are constantly being made: among these, probably, are the light leather boats, capable of being transported by horses, which were used for crossing the water moats of towns. His idea of the artillery needed in the siege of a large strong town like Orleans is a park of 250 pieces, of various calibre; and his notions of the adequate gunpowder for each gun would have startled the English of 1429.

Bueil, moreover, in thirty years of experience, had learned to distrust *bastilles*, or palisaded earth-works, such as were used by the English and Burgundians in the sieges of Orleans, Compiègne, Dieppe, and Mont St. Michel. These extemporised forts, built at intervals all around the threatened town, are represented, in the illustrated manuscripts of the period, as mere circles of park palings, not of the height of a man. They were, in fact, much stronger; the palisades crowned high earth-works, and tall scaling ladders were needed by assailants, while the artillery of the period did not easily breach them.

The English before the end of the siege had ensconced their

men in twelve or thirteen of these *bastilles*. But, as Bueil argues, they were so remote each from each, that the garrison of one fort could not rescue the men in its neighbour, if attacked, and they did not supply accommodation for horses. "I have always heard that no good comes of *bastilles*, and, in the late wars, I saw them ruined at Orleans, Compiègne, Dieppe, and St. Michel." Really the *bastilles* were not to blame, but there were not enough of them, because the investing armies were numerically inadequate.

Bueil's criticisms came too late; nor is it easy to see how the English could, with their limited forces, have done better than they did. They had not soldiers enough to man twice the number of *bastilles*, but, till the Maid arrived, the French never assaulted one of their thirteen forts.

From Salisbury's original force of about 5000 men, with which he took forty towns and castles in September 1428, must be deducted the garrisons which he left in these places of strength. This deduction makes it plain that he had not men enough either to invest Orleans, a town with a coronal of towers, a river frontage, and walls of great height and thickness; or to take by storm a city well found in guns of various calibre, and garrisoned by people of laudable courage and patriotism, and by the companies of all the great French leaders. Other cities, the Estates, and the Dauphin, contributed money and provisions; the town was well victualled, well provided with guns, powder, arrows, *pavois* or shield-screens, and all the munitions of war. The citizens destroyed the houses and the beautiful churches of their suburbs, on the opposite side of the river, and welcomed adventurous captains, men like Dunois, La Hire, Poton de Saintrailles. Unluckily for France the massive churches were only wrecked, not levelled; and several of the investing forts of the English were palisaded earth-works, or *bastilles*, surrounding and resting on the half-ruined walls of the churches and the strong church towers.

On October 12 the siege began; firing from the opposite bank of the Loire, the English guns of position threw heavy stone balls into the town, and killed—one woman. They destroyed the water

mills, but the townsfolk established mills worked by horse power. The bridge-head, on the English side of the stream, was protected by two strong towers, "the Tourelles," with an outer boulevard. From its *boulevard*, or outwork, the English were repulsed, with loss of 240 men in killed alone. The English tnen mined, or were believed to have mined, the outwork, and the French deserted the Tourelles on October 23, breaking down an arch of the bridge, and erecting a barricade on the arch of the Belle Croix (later enriched by the ladies of Orleans with statues of Charles VII and the Maid, kneeling in prayer on either side of the Fair Cross).

On October 24, Salisbury was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball as he reconnoitred the town from a window of the Tourelles. This discouraged the English as much as the arrival of Etienne de Vignoles (the famous La Hire), of the brave Dunois, then styled Bastard of Orleans, and of their bands, with archers, cross-bowmen, and professional infantry from Italy, encouraged the townsfolk. On November 8 the English army broke up, retiring to more hospitable quarters in the adjacent towns of Meun and Jargeau; while William Glasdale, a north countryman and a soldier of high repute, held, under Lords de Moleyns and Poynings, with five hundred men, the Tourelles and their outwork. Glasdale could only observe the city, while the French destroyed twelve churches and monastic houses in the suburbs, that they might not afford shelter to the main body of the English on their return. We hear of no attempt to recapture the bridge-head, with its fortifications; the French were not yet led by Jeanne d'Arc, and, though greatly superior in numbers, had no heart for the assault.

On December 1 the great Talbot arrived to reinforce the English in the Tourelles with men, food, guns, and ammunition. He kept up a well-nourished fire of ponderous missiles, which injured many buildings, but caused almost no loss of life. The garrison replied with a huge new piece of ordnance; but by Christmas Day, when there was a truce, and Orleans lent musicians to the enemy, neither side had done anything new of the slightest

note. A famous gunner named Jean "sniped" a few English day by day: on December 29 the Orléanais levelled eight or nine more churches; the Earl of Suffolk and Talbot arrived on the Orleans side of the water with 2500 men, and established a huge fortified camp, or bastille and boulevard, at St. Laurent des Orgerils, outside the west gate, Porte Regnart, of the city. This camp was intended to close the Porte Regnart and the road down the river towards Blois, so as to stop any French relieving force advancing from that centre. The English were only opposed by skirmishing bands of cavalry under Dunois: there were daily skirmishes, but no attempt was made to prevent the English from fortifying themselves in their great bastille of St. Laurent and elsewhere.

So the siege, if it can be called a siege, went on. Day by day bands of the French sallied out and teased the English; day by day the English advanced "with marvellous cries" against one of the gates of the city. There was no genuine attack, no resolute fighting, no night assault; and each side retired when it came within the very limited range of hostile artillery fire, some five hundred yards. French troops and supplies entered Orleans at pleasure, but the English erected a *bastille* on the isle Charlemagne, which lay in the river between their fort of St. Laurent and their new fort, St. Privé, built on the opposite bank of the river to secure the ferry from the isle Charlemagne. The garrisons of these works could not keep out (January 10, 1429) a great convoy with supplies and ammunition sent from Bourges, due south of Orleans.

The English, in fact, had on that day appreciable losses in slain men and prisoners, while, next day, a cannon-ball from the Orleans side destroyed the roof of the English bridge-head fort. On January 12 a herd of 600 swine was driven into the city; while, on the following day, Sir John Fastolf reinforced the besiegers with a company of 1200 men, guns of various calibre, powder, victuals, and supplies of arrows. Presently 40 beeves and 200 swine were thrown into Orleans; but next day

the English seized the ferry-boat of the Orléanais which plied between the opposite bank, and the church of St. Loup in the fields outside of the eastern wall, and also made spoil of 500 head of cattle intended to supply the town, slew a number of the enemy, and captured the famous light field-piece of that master gunner, Jean the Lorainer. This piece, which had caused them so much loss, the English bore in triumph to the Tourelles; but Jean escaped by swimming. So they continued to skirmish, the townsfolk being in good heart, and well fed. There we leave them, on January 30, 1429, rejoicing in the arrival of nine pack horses laden with oil for their winter salads.

The fighting was not much more serious than the combats with apples and cheeses, in the pleasant land of Torelore, as described in the old romance of *Aucassin and Nicolete*. The French, according to the contemporary author of the *Journal du Siège*, do not seem to have lost fifty men; the English, save at the Tourelles, not a hundred. If we may believe the mysterious Scots chronicler, the Monk of Dunfermline (who avers that he was with the Maid till her end), the English camp was like a great fair, with booths for the sale of all sorts of commodities, and had sunk ways, leading from one fort to another.

Certainly the French had plenty of supplies; but the siege was soon to be tightened, and from February 25 till the arrival of the Maid at the end of April, but small quantities of provisions were introduced. The arrival of a few pigs is duly chronicled!

CHAPTER VII

JEANNE'S SECOND VISIT TO VAUCOULEURS

WHILE the besiegers and the defenders of Orleans were merely marking time, strange tidings of events that never occurred would be buzzed in the ears of the people at Domremy. Pilgrims and pig-drivers would be rivals in telling the saddest tale—how the Tourelles were taken; how the city was invested; how the inhabitants were starving. To Jeanne the most cruel circumstance was the fact that the English, though they held the Duc d'Orléans captive, were none the less attacking his town and territory. This conduct was regarded as unprecedented treachery, and Jeanne's attachment to all the Royal House was very strong in the case of *le beau Duc*, the prisoner poet. She had promised, in May 1428, that her Dauphin should have succour from Heaven by March 1429. In October 1428 it was plain that the Dauphin had never stood in direr need. In January 1429, Jeanne's chosen date was drawing near, and, about January 12 (?), 1429 she left Domremy, which she was never to see again, and betook herself to the house of her cousins, the Durand Lassois, at Little Burey.

Jeanne, when she set out for Little Burey, had not the heart to say farewell to her little friend Hauviette. "Adieu, I go to Vaucouleurs!" she cried as she passed the cottage of her friend, Guillemette, in Greux; "Adieu, Mengette, God bless you," she said to another girl of her own age.

Adieu to Domremy, to the little brook, to the river, and the isle; to the fairy castle of her childhood, with its grey old garden; adieu to the fountain and the Ladies' tree; farewell to the birds

in her father's close; farewell to her dear mother; to the meadows where she had run races for chaplets of flowers. To her that other immortal garland was to be run for, the imperishable crown of the Maiden Martyr.

How it came about that Jacques d'Arc again permitted his daughter to go near men of the sword is a mystery. He may have been persuaded by the *curé*, Fronte, or by others who thought that Jeanne might do good by going her own way; for by this time her ambition was the theme of the gossips of Domremy. More probably Jacques d'Arc had absolute reliance on the common sense of Robert de Baudricourt. "Assuredly," he must have thought, "the captain is the last man to let the girl go!"

Apparently Baudricourt, for long, was recalcitrant. Certainly Jeanne left the house of the Lassois, at Little Burey, and dwelt for three weeks with Henri Royer and his wife in Vaucouleurs. Both gave evidence to her goodness and love of going to church, to her industry and skill with her needle. Yet she would go to France on her mission, if she went on her knees, she said. How did Jeanne overcome the scepticism of Baudricourt so far that he ended by allowing her to have an escort? To answer this question entails what Sir Walter Scott calls "a boring attempt to see further into a millstone than the nature of the millstone permits," —a process which Sir Walter, as an historian, thought highly undesirable.

Arriving at Little Burey in the first fortnight of January 1429 Jeanne seems to have stayed there for three weeks (Lassois, in 1456, said for six weeks), and gone to the house of the Royers in Vaucouleurs in the first week of February. Probably she kept coming and going from one friendly house to the other. If Lassois was right in fixing her stay with him at six weeks, then she went to him in December 1428. At the Royers in Vaucouleurs, later, she won the heart of her hostess by her gentle ways, her skill in sewing, and her earnest faith. Katherine Royer was much impressed by a remark of the Maid which has given rise to a whole theory of the origin of her mission. "Have you

not heard of the saying that France is to be ruined by a woman and restored by a maiden from the marches of Loraine?" "Then," says Katherine Royer herself, "I remembered having heard this saying, and I was astonished."

The prophecy was a current piece of folklore, familiar to Katherine herself; she remembered having heard it, and it is absurd to speak of it as a pious fraud of the priests.

Jeanne was wont to confess to Jean Fournier, *curé* of the church of St. Mary on the hill above the town, and in 1456 an eye-witness remembered her assiduity in prayer, sometimes kneeling with her face bowed, sometimes raised to the statue of the Virgin, in the crypt of the church. But her prayers seemed to be unheard, she could not move the jovial incredulous Baudricourt.

Her first gleam of hope appears to have come from a young man-at-arms, aged twenty-seven, who had some acquaintance with her father and mother. He was named Jean de Metz, or, from his estate, Jean de Novelonpont. He was one of those who might have said:

"La guerre est ma patrie,
Mon harnois ma maison,
Et en toute saison,
Combattre c'est ma vie";

but his heart was true to France and the rightful king. While the Maid dwelt with the Royers in Vaucouleurs, about the first or second week of February 1429, Jean met her "in her poor red woman's dress," and said to her "*Ma mie*, what are you doing here? Must the King be walked out of his kingdom, and must we all be English?" She answered, "I am come to a Royal town to ask Robert de Baudricourt to lead me to the King. But Baudricourt cares nothing for me and for what I say; none the less I must be with the King by mid-Lent, if I wear my legs down to the knees. No man in the world—kings, nor dukes, nor the daughter of the Scottish king—can recover the kingdom of France, nor hath our king any succour save from myself, though I would liefer be sewing beside my poor mother. For this deed

is not convenient to my station. Yet go I must; and this deed I must do, because my Lord so wills it."

"Who is your Lord?"

"My Lord is God," said the Maid.

He answered, with an emotion that thrills us as we read, "Then I, Jean, swear to you, Maid, my hand in your hands, that I, God helping me, will lead you to the King, and I ask when you will go?"

"Better to-day than to-morrow, better to-morrow than later."

Here we must explain what the Maid meant when she truly said, contrary to general expectation, that there "would come no aid from the daughter of the King of Scotland." In April 1428 the Dauphin had sent Alain Chartier, the poet, to renew the ancient league with Scotland. That league, said Alain, "is not written on parchment or on skin of sheep, but is graven on the living flesh of men, traced not in ink but blood." France and Scotland, in turns, had saved each the other's independence from English conquest. On July 17, 1428, James I sent an embassy to the Dauphin, and on the same day a treaty was signed at Perth, at the request of John Stewart of Darnley (Comte d'Evreux), and of Regnault de Chartres, Archbishop of Reims. Two days later, James settled the conditions of the marriage of his infant daughter, Margaret, with the son of the Dauphin, Louis, himself still a child. James, in 1429, was to send his daughter to France with an army of 6000 Scots. The dowry of Margaret was to be the *comté* of Saintonge; to which the Dauphin agreed in November 1428. On January 3, 1429, the town council of Tournai heard from the Dauphin that the Scottish bride with an army of 4000 (6000?) men would arrive before Whitsunday, that is, early in May 1429; if that were not enough, King James himself would come. (In April 1429, England was equipping a fleet to attack the Scottish transports.)

The facts had reached the people of Vaucouleurs, had come to the knowledge of the Maid. But she foresaw the futility of the hopes of France, and declared that succour from God would

reach the Dauphin, not in April or May, but in mid-Lent; not from the Princess of Scotland with 6000 men-at-arms and archers, but in the person of herself, a peasant girl from Domremy. To account for her disdain of the official good news about the Scottish army of 6000 men, we must remember the unshaken ardour of her belief in her Voices, which said, and truly said, that in her only was hope. If she could but reach the Dauphin, she believed herself to be certain to receive from her Voices a secret, known only to Charles and God, which must infallibly secure her acceptance. Her Voices had revealed this before she left Domremy, and had said, "Go boldly on, when you are with the King he will have a sure sign to persuade him to believe and trust you." That sign she received.

Had Jeanne been a visionary of the common kind, she would have felt that her prediction of May 1428, "God will succour the Dauphin by mid-Lent, 1429," was quite sufficiently fulfilled by the promise of the great Scottish contingent before Whitsunday. But the intelligence communicated by her Voices was undeniably and incomparably superior to that of the Foreign Office of the Dauphin. The hapless child-bride from Scotland did not arrive in France till seven years later; the 6000 men never came at all. Jeanne came!

We conjecturally date the conversation of Jeanne with Jean de Novelonpont about February 5–7, 1429. Jeanne had not yet made any impression on Baudricourt, as she told Jean de Novelonpont. She could get neither horse nor convoy; she must walk to the Dauphin, if she wore down her legs to the knees, as she said. Lassois bore witness thus: "When the Maid saw that Robert de Baudricourt would not have her led to the place where the Dauphin was" (Chinon on Loire), "she took clothes from me, and said that she must be going; and I led her to St. Nicholas on her way. . . ."

To this shrine of St. Nicholas, on the road to France, Jeanne walked in male dress, not by way of making a pilgrimage, but merely in the first stage of her walk to Chinon. But, on reflection,

she deemed this mode of travelling unworthy of her, and she returned to Vaucouleurs.

Jean de Novelonpont says that he suggested to the Maid the idea of travelling in male dress, or rather, he asked her if she would do so, and she assented. But she had already made the experiment, in her renounced design of walking to Chinon.

The Duc de Loraine now heard of Jeanne, and sent for her, with a letter of safe conduct, to Nancy, some sixty or seventy miles from Vaucouleurs. A horse was purchased for her, and Jean de Novelonpont with Durand Lassois rode in her company, Jean as far as Toul, Lassois all the way. The journey in either direction would probably require two days. In going or coming Jeanne visited a famous shrine of St. Nicholas at St. Nicholas au Port, some five or six miles south of Nancy. She returned to Vaucouleurs about February 13, the day after the defeat of the French at Rouvray.

From Jeanne's own account of what occurred at Nancy it seems that, so far, she had failed with Baudricourt. The Duc de Loraine was an old man, in bad health, and was ruled by a mistress. Though an ally of England, he had recently married his daughter and heiress to René, second son of Yoland, Queen of Sicily and Duchess of Anjou, the mother-in-law of Charles VII. René, whose sympathies were French, was later the famous and popular "King René," of the gay court of artists and minstrels.

All that we know from Jeanne about this visit to Nancy is that "the Duc put questions to her about the recovery of his health, concerning which, as she informed him, she knew nothing; but she told him a few things about her journey. She asked him to lend her his son-in-law (René) and men to lead her into France, and she would pray for his better health." He did give her a black horse and a little money, or perhaps with the money they bought the horse. Many years later a woman of Bourges averred that she had heard from Jeanne how she bade the Duc put away his mistress; but the lady's evidence is not, on points of what she remembered having heard, of much value.

We may probably place, as we shall see, after the date of Jeanne's return to Vaucouleurs about February 13, a very singular incident, explained by a still more singular story. Jeanne's hostess, Royer's wife, was sitting at home with the Maid when Baudricourt himself and the *curé*, Fournier, entered the room. Madame Royer withdrew, but learned what occurred from Jeanne. The priest had brought his stole with him; he put it on, and, in the presence of the bluff captain he exorcised the Maid, saying, "If thou be a thing of evil, begone from us; if a thing of good, approach us!"

Then Jeanne dragged herself on her knees towards the priest. Clearly the devil was not in her! Jeanne said to Madame Royer that "this act was ill done of the priest, for he had heard me in confession." It was ill done; but how did the jolly Baudricourt—who had rejected all the Maid's petitions—come to think of having her tested as a witch? He had hitherto taken her for neither witch nor prophetess, but for a silly girl.

There is a conceivable answer to our question. In the *Journal du Siège d'Orleans*, and in a kind of synoptic and composite chronicle which coincides much with the *Journal*, namely, the *Chronique de la Pucelle*, and in the *Mystère du Siège d'Orleans*, a play of uncertain date (1470?), we read, that on February 12, 1429, Jeanne went to Baudricourt and said, "In God's name you are too slow in sending me; for this day, near Orleans, a great disaster has befallen the gentle Dauphin, and worse fortune he will have unless you send me to him." The captain kept these words in his mind, and learned later that the day of Jeanne's revelation was the day when the Constable of Scotland and the Seigneur d'Orval were defeated by the English, namely, in the battle of the Herrings, at Rouvray, near Orleans. (February 12, 1429.) Some six days might pass before the news of that rout reached Baudricourt, and Jeanne left for Chinon with her escort on February 23. Supposing that the tale is true, we see *why* Baudricourt, after he knew that Jeanne's prophecy was fulfilled, no longer regarded the Maid as merely a silly lass, but as either a thing of the devil or of God. She had *vue à distance*, knew of

a remote event, through no normal channel of the senses. She was inspired, whether by God or the Evil one! Being in doubt, Baudricourt would consult the *curé*, who thereon did the exorcism and settled the question. It is the same chronicler, Cousinot, author of the story of Jeanne's clairvoyance, who alone tells us that Baudricourt at first wished to make Jeanne a leaguer-lass for the diversion of his men-at-arms; he seems to have special information about the bluff captain, and adds that Baudricourt wrote a letter to Charles VII mentioning the prophecy. Baudricourt did write about the Maid to Charles, when she set out for France, as we learn from other evidence.

Be the story of Jeanne's clairvoyance true or false, it does not appear among the surviving contemporary legends about her except, perhaps, in a reference of Boulainvilliers in his letter of June 21, 1429; "after she had shown many marvels," Baudricourt ordered the men to lead her to the King. Jeanne *does* say that she spoke about her visions to Baudricourt, and to no other man except the King; and *this* vision, when confirmed, and when Fournier proved Jeanne to be no witch, was well calculated to shake the captain's incredulity.

About this time a king's messenger, Jean Colet de Vienne, was at Vaucouleurs. On February 23 he was one of the little band that started with Jeanne from the Gate of France to seek the Dauphin at Chinon. It may be conjectured that he had brought to Baudricourt the news of the great disaster of Rouvray of February 12. Jeanne and her company occupied eleven days, (February 23–March 6) on the march from Vaucouleurs to Chinon. Probably the king's messenger rode more swiftly; taking a week on the road from Chinon, or six days, he might bring the ill news of Rouvray, arriving at Vaucouleurs about February 19. It is most improbable that Baudricourt could have written to the Dauphin concerning Jeanne (who, up to February 13, had made no impression on him), and have received a favourable reply from Court by February 20. Indeed, the thing is physically impossible.

There was, perhaps, sufficient reason for making Baudricourt

acquainted with the defeat at Rouvray. We have seen that, in the July of 1428, the English rulers of France launched Antoine de Vergy with an armed force against all the region under the rule of the captain of Vaucouleurs. Now a document (of July 22, 1428) proves that, on account of "the long delays" of several captains who ought to have aided the Governor of Champagne, Antoine de Vergy, in his attack on Vaucouleurs, a compact was made with Baudricourt "for the capitulation of Vaucouleurs and other places" under his command.

Nothing more is known of this affair. Vaucouleurs was not surrendered. The force which approached it departed within five days at most. If it was to be given up, as was common in such cases, unless it were relieved by a given date, or unless the Dauphin, by a given date, won a great victory, then it would be natural for the Dauphin to send to Baudricourt a king's messenger with news of the disaster at Rouvray, and the improbability of relief. But the bargain of surrender may have been quashed months before February 1429 by the diplomacy of the Duke of Burgundy (who, under treaty, was bound not to attack Vaucouleurs), or of René, Duc de Bar, who at that period was constantly writing letters to Baudricourt. In any case, news of so great a defeat as the Battle of the Herrings might be officially sent to Vaucouleurs, where the king's messenger certainly was before February 23. The desperate condition of Orleans, after Rouvray, would make Baudricourt less averse to giving the Maid her chance, *spes exigua et extrema.*

Whatever motives may have overcome Baudricourt's sense of the ridiculous, he did little in the way of equipping the Maid for her long journey, when at last he permitted her to set out for Chinon. The expenses of the journey were defrayed by Jean de Novelonpont and by Bertrand de Poulengy, who were reimbursed from the Royal treasury.

A momentous step was taken. By the suggestion of Jean, as he said (the point has been mentioned already), Jeanne changed her poor girl's dress of red cloth for the tunic, vest, long breeches,

boots, spurs, and cap of a page. The people of Vaucouleurs subscribed towards the expense; a horse was bought for Jeanne; and when she, with her two friends, their two servants, Richard the Archer, and the king's messenger, Colet de Vienne, rode out of the Gate of France, Baudricourt gave the Maid a sword, and said, *Allez, et vienne que pourra!*

Her friends came to see her ride forth, rejoicing in this her first victory over the doubting hearts of men. "You should not go," they said, "all the ways are beset by men-at-arms." But Jeanne, who had told Katherine Royer that "she longed to be gone, as a woman with child longs for the day of her delivery," replied, "The way is made clear before me. I have my Lord who makes the path smooth to the gentle Dauphin, for to do this deed I was born." Then through the gathering dusk, for they rode by night, they went down the way to France.

CHAPTER VIII

CHINON. THE KING'S SECRET

WHAT manner of maid, to outward view, was she that on February 23, 1429, rode through the gate of France to achieve her great adventure? Even according to the English tradition Jeanne d'Arc was beautiful. In Shakespeare's *Henry VI* (Part I. Act I. Scene 2) she explains her beauty by a miracle. Our Lady appeared to her,

> "And, whereas I was black and swart before,
> With these clear rays which she infused on me,
> That beauty am I bless'd with which you see."

The captains in the old mystery play, *La Mystère du Siège d'Orléans*, describe her thus:

> "*Elle est plaisante en faits et dits,*
> *Belle et blanche comme la rose.*"

> "Sweet she is in words and deeds,
> Fair and white as the white rose."

Beauty may be suggested in the Homeric manner, without details, as when the Trojan elders say of Helen, "wondrous like is she to the divine and deathless goddesses." Jeanne is painted thus Homerically in a letter by a young knight, Guy de Laval, to his mother: "She seems a thing all divine, *de son faict*, and to see her and hear her." From other witnesses we learn that she "was beautiful in face and figure" (*belle et bien formée*), "her face was glad and smiling," "her breasts were beautiful." Her hair was black, cut short like a soldier's; as to her eyes and features, having no information, we may conceive of

them as we please. Probably she had grey eyes, and a clear, pale colour under the tan of sun and wind. She was so tall that she could wear a man's clothes, those, for example, of Durand Lassois. Thus, with her natural aspect of gladness and her ready April tears, Jeanne was a maid whom men loved to look upon, and followed gladly ; for

> " *Elle est plaisante en faits et dits,*
> *Belle et blanche comme la rose.*"

In Chaucer's pretty phrase she was

> "Sweet as a flower and upright as a bolt."

There is no portrait of her. She never sat to a painter; and the popular images, whether from memory or fancy, are mainly late or apocryphal.

Her health was perfect, her energy was proved to be indefatigable. Her courtly manner of address and salutation she seemed to have learned from her crowned and gracious lady Saints. She loved a good horse, a good knight, and a good sword, and she loved to go richly clad. But when the Maid at last appeared before her gentle Dauphin, she wore a black *pourpoint*, a kind of breeches fastened by laces and points to the *pourpoint*, a short coarse dark grey tunic, and a black cap on her close cropped black hair. Probably she rode out of Vaucouleurs in the same raiment.

Jeanne, as she went on her way through the night, by roads which the bands of Burgundy, of England, and of the robber captains infested, had no fear of them, and no anxiety about the conduct of her companions. Baudricourt had made them swear an oath, she says, that they would guide her well and safely. Thanks to their oath, their chivalry, and "the goodness they saw in her," the two gentlemen, they swear, went with Jeanne as free from passion as if she had been their sister. It was, at the lowest, their interest to bring her unharmed, a maiden prophetess, to their king.

The little troop travelled all night, for fear of the wandering bands of Burgundy and England. In this hostile country, to Jeanne's regret, they dared not go to Mass. She appears to have been more apt to confide in them than she supposed she had been, as to her Voices. "Ever she bade us to have no fear, for her Brothers of Paradise taught her always what she should do, and it was now four years or five since they and her Lord had told her that she must go to the war for the recovery of France." But she apparently spoke no word as to the mode of the appearance of her Brothers of Paradise.

Their first night march brought them to the town of St. Urbain. There was a piece of gossip to the effect that some of her company once tried her courage, by suddenly appearing as if hostile, while the others made as if they would flee. "In God's name stand!" she cried, "they will do us no harm." It is not a likely tale, and was merely reported as an *on dit*.

While on hostile ground, taking byways, they had to ford four or five rivers before they reached Auxerre, in Anglo-Burgundian territory, where they heard Mass. Soon they were at Gien, in the Dauphin's country, and safe except from marauders and highwaymen. There was a story current in April 1429, that some such fellows had laid an ambush for Jeanne, but had made no attack, perhaps not finding themselves in sufficient force. Precisely the same story—the men were rooted to the ground—is told of the contemporary St. Colette.

The most interesting place where the Maid paused during her journey is the little town of Fierbois, near Chinon, south of the Loire. Here was a famous chapel of one of her Saints, St. Catherine. For some reason, St. Catherine of Fierbois was the patroness of captives taken by the English and Burgundians. French and Scots soldiers were wont to make pilgrimages thither, and relate to the clergy of the chapel the miracles by which the Saint had enabled them to escape. Among the witnesses to their own marvellous escapes are men and women of good character and position. Others may have been among the vagabonds who then

went about begging, on the score that they must thank St. Catherine at her shrine. They are described amusingly in the contemporary *Liber Vagatorum*. The stories, told at Fierbois with simple sincerity, were recorded in the chapel book, with the names of the witnesses of the confessions, among them Dunois and La Hire. (The manuscript has been published by the Abbé Bourassé, and translated by myself.) The most astonishing tale is that of Michael Hamilton, a Scot from Bothwell. While at home, he had a special devotion to St. Catherine, who served him well abroad. He was caught when freebooting, and hanged. In the night came a Voice to the local *curé*, bidding him to cut down the Scot. The *curé* was disobedient to that heavenly voice; but next day, when his Easter service was over, he sent his servant, who strolled to the spot, and taking out his penknife, cut Michael's toe. Michael kicked; he was certainly alive; he was cut down, and was tended by a charitable religious lady. He neglected to make his promised pilgrimage to Fierbois, till, at night, he received a sonorous box on the ear, and heard a voice bidding him fulfil his vow. Unable to walk, owing to the wound inflicted by the penknife, he rode to Fierbois, and there made his deposition. This tale Jeanne did not hear, for Michael came to Fierbois when she was engaged in the relief of Orleans. She must have heard many of the other miracles read,—at least this is probable. She also heard three Masses. At Fierbois she dictated a letter to the Dauphin, asking permission to enter his town of Chinon, for she had ridden a hundred and fifty leagues to tell him things useful to him, and known to her. Her impression was that in this letter she told the King that she "would recognise him among all others."

She rode to Chinon, and, after dining or breakfasting at a hostelry, kept by a woman of good repute, she appears to have gone to the castle. If so, she was not at once admitted. The Dauphin sent persons to ask who she was and why she came. Clearly he knew nothing about her; her letter and that of Baudricourt had not been given to him. She was unwilling to answer till she saw the King, says Simon Charles, *Maître des Requêtes*, who seems to have

been informed by Jean de Novelonpont. She would then say no more than that she was to relieve Orleans, and lead the King to his coronation at Reims. The Council was divided in opinion as to whether she should be admitted or not; however, an appointment was made, though even when she approached the castle the King, by advice of the majority of the Council, hesitated to see her. Not till then was the prince informed of Baudricourt's letter and of Jeanne's "almost miraculously" safe journey. All this is strange. Probably the favourites and advisers of the Dauphin, La Trémoïlle and the rest, threw the Maid's letter away as a piece of nonsense, and kept back that of Baudricourt as lacking in the captain's usual common sense.

Jeanne, at all events, was advancing towards the castle, when (as her confessor, Pasquerel, declares that she herself informed him) she was insulted and sworn at by a man on horseback. She answered, "In God's name do you swear, and you so near your death!" Within the hour the man fell into the water (the castle moat?) and was drowned. The story is alluded to by a contemporary Italian letter-writer. The confessor Pasquerel had at this time never seen the Maid, he joined her on her expedition to Orleans.

Louis de Bourbon, Comte de Vendôme, led Jeanne into the Royal presence. The hall of audience was crowded; Jeanne says that three hundred knights were present, and the place shone with the lustre of fifty *flambeaux*. Now the chamber is a roofless ruin; a wall with the wide fireplace is still intact. Coming in from the darkness of the night, the Maid, in her page's dress of black and grey, was not dazzled by the torches burning; was not confused by such a throng of men in velvet and cloth of gold, in crimson and in azure, as she had never seen; veteran soldiers, counsellors like false La Trémoïlle, prelates like the Archbishop of Reims. Says de Gaucourt, who was present, "she came forward with great humility and simplicity, and I heard these words which she spoke to the King thus: "Most noble Lord Dauphin, I come from God to help you and your realm." The Dauphin drew her apart, and

spoke with her long. "The King seemed to rejoice in what he heard."

She had recognised Charles at once, and it is certain that, in her opinion, she did so spontaneously. He is said to have been an ugly young man, as we saw, with legs like those of our own James VI. He is also said to have been a very comely person, *moult bel prince*. She may have heard him described; she certainly believed that she knew him through her Voices.

De Gaucourt, who was present, says nothing about a miracle of recognition, or about the Dauphin disguised in a mean costume. Writing, probably some four months later (June 1429), the clerk of La Rochelle says that the King was not in the hall when the Maid entered; that Charles de Bourbon and others were pointed out to her as being the Dauphin; that she was not deceived, but knew him when he entered from another chamber. If she wrote to him from Fierbois, as she remembered, saying that she would recognise him, the courtiers may have tried to play tricks on her, and to puzzle her.

By April 22, 1429, it was on record that she had promised to raise the siege of Orleans, and to lead the King to be crowned, with other matters "*which the King keeps strictly secret*." The informant was an officer in the employment of Charles de Bourbon, and this is the earliest contemporary hint—within the month—concerning "The King's Secret," a much debated subject. According to Jeanne, her secret communication to Charles made him take her seriously; she was to be examined by clerks, divines, and legists. According to her confessor, Pasquerel, the Maid told him that she said, "I tell thee, from Messire," from her Lord, "that thou art true heir of France *and son of the King*." She *tutoyait* him, speaking as a prophetess from Heaven. There was little in the words, from a travestied village girl of whom he knew nothing, to inspire confidence in the Dauphin, but the Maid said more. In a letter of the end of July, attributed to the poet, Alain Chartier, it is written, "As to what she said to the King, nobody knows that. But it was most manifest that the King was greatly encouraged as if by the

Spirit" (*non mediocri fuisse alacritate perfusum*). In a letter to Venice from Bruges, dated July 9, we find, "It is said that the Maid notified the Dauphin that none must know these things" (her revelations), "save God and himself." He therefore took her seriously.

That Jeanne did give a secret "sign" to the King, which made him take her pretensions in earnest, she maintained at her trial. She could not be induced to explain this sign; in a separate chapter her treatment of the subject will be investigated. It will be seen that, perhaps, while she gave the sign secretly on her first interview with the Dauphin, she later, by his desire, communicated it to some of his adherents.

As to what the sign given by the Maid to the King really was, I have no hesitation in following the opinion of her greatest historian, Jules Quicherat. He accepts as authentic the statement of the contemporary, Thomas Basin, Bishop of Lisieux, as given in his *History of Charles VII.* "The Comte de Dunois, who was most intimate with the King, told me the facts on the King's own authority. The Maid confirmed her account" (of her mission) "by rehearsing to the King matters so secret and hidden that no mortal except himself could know them save by divine revelation."

The King did not tell Dunois, or Dunois did not tell Basin, what the secret was that only God and the King and the Maid knew. If we accept other evidence at third hand, as Quicherat does with conviction, the secret could not be divulged with safety while Charles lived, or at least while his right to the crown and his possession of his kingdom was still contested. But later the secret came to light. The facts peep out very shyly. First, we have no less than ten reports, in contemporary letters of 1429 and in evidence of contemporaries given in 1450–1456, that the Maid told the Dauphin certain secret things, which appeared to fill him with confidence and joy. (For these see the supplementary chapter on "The Sign given to the King.")

Next, we have the evidence of two Chronicles, probably not completed in their exact form before 1468, that the secret

referred to something which the Dauphin himself had done, "a vow which he had made," "something great which he had done," "a thing that none could know save God and himself." At her Trial Jeanne went so far as to admit that he had a sign "connected with his own doings." Then in the undated mystery play (1470?) (*Mystère du Siège d'Orleans*), the King before Jeanne's arrival makes a secret prayer, and Jeanne recalls it to his memory.

After that came into light the details of the prayer, which, for good reasons, could not be published during the lifetime of the King.

These details are given in the *Hardiesses des grands Rois*, by Pierre Sala (1516).

Sala had been a servant of Louis XI (son of Charles VII), and of Charles VIII. Under the last named king, about 1480, Sala became familiar with de Boisy, who had been a gentleman of the bed-chamber of Charles VII, the only gentleman whose bed Charles shared, as was the custom. To de Boisy the distrustful King communicated the secret; in his utmost need, in 1428, he made, alone, a mental prayer in his oratory, "uttering no words, but in his heart imploring God that, if he were indeed the true heir, of the blood of the noble House of France, and the kingdom rightfully his own, God would please to guard and defend him; or at least grant him grace to avoid death or captivity, and escape to Spain or Scotland, whose kings were of all ancientry brothers in arms, and allies of the kings of France; wherefore he had chosen them as his last refuge."

When the Maid came, announcing her mission, "she verified it by the proofs above stated, which the King recognised for true."

There are other versions to much the same effect; but from Sala we get the chain of evidence, and Quicherat holds that it places beyond doubt the authenticity of the revelation: while Jeanne told her judges that, before she left Vaucouleurs, the Voices promised that she should receive a sign which would convince the King.

Vallet de Viriville recognised the concurrence of very notable testimonies to these facts. But as, if accepted, they do attest what we call "supernormal faculties" in the Maid, he scientifically explains them thus: The Maid may have been guided on this point by the King's confessor, Machet, his old tutor. To reach this conclusion we must suppose that the King told his confessor about his prayer,—which, on the evidence he did not,—that Machet broke the seal of confession in his enthusiasm for a strange girl dressed as a page, and that he and the Maid conspired to hoax the confiding monarch.

This scientific explanation is not easy to believe. M. Anatole France observes that Jeanne's assurance of his legitimacy would not have affected the King. "His first thought would have been that the clergy had coached her" (*avaient endoctriné la jeune fille.*)

But Charles, on the evidence, was not convinced by Jeanne's assertion, but by her proofs; her knowledge of "what was known only to God and himself."

With Quicherat and Vallet de Viriville I recognise the excellence of the evidence, but cannot explain the facts away on the system of de Viriville.

Meanwhile the secret, obviously, could not be made public at the time, as it proved Charles's doubts of his own legitimacy. At the trial of the Maid not even the threat of torture and the sight of the rack, the boot, and the tormentor, could wring the facts from her.

The confidence of the Dauphin was tempered by abundant discretion. The clergy and doctors of his party must be consulted before the bizarre messenger of God could be employed. The Maid, meanwhile, was lodged in the tower of Coudray, part of the palace at Chinon, and entrusted to Guillaume Bellier, an official of the Court, and to his pious wife. A page of fourteen or fifteen years old, Louis de Coutes, in the service of de Gaucourt, was given to her as her attendant by day. He was of a poor but noble family; on the mother's side he came of the Scottish house of Mercer. He often saw Jeanne going to and coming from the King,

and men of high station often visited her; he was not present at their meetings with her. De Coutes frequently saw her kneeling in prayer and weeping.

As when at Vaucouleurs, she had "longed, as a woman with child longs for her delivery," to go to Chinon, so now she prayed and wept, desiring sorely to succour the people of Orleans. "You hold so many and such long councils," she said to the Dauphin later. Her heart was on fire to be at work, not to waste that "one year and little more" during which she was to endure, as she kept telling the Dauphin. It is d'Alençon who vouches for this sad and absolutely accurate repeated prophecy. Jeanne must have made it from the first, for in a letter dated "Bruges, May 10, 1429," the writer remarks, "It is said that the Maid is to achieve two more great feats" (in addition to the relief of Orleans), "and then to die." We must think of her as always foreknowing, and always disregarding her swiftly approaching end.

Indeed, Orleans was in need of succour, while the learned at Chinon and Poitiers split hairs and asked futile questions, and quoted Scripture, and Merlin, and Bede, and Marie of Avignon, wearying the Maid beyond endurance.

As the *Journal du Siège* shows, provisions now came in by driblets, a few cattle, a few pack horses, a few swine; and what were *they* in time of Lent? By February 6 came La Hire and Poton de Saintrailles, good at need, he who later helped to raise the long siege of Compiègne, while Jeanne lay in captivity. Envoys sent to the Dauphin returned with promise of succour, and on February 8 arrived William Stewart, brother of the Constable of the army of Scotland, with de Gaucourt, and a thousand fighting men, mainly Scots; their entry was "a right fair sight to see." They were within four days of their death. Meanwhile young Charles de Bourbon, already mentioned, the Comte de Clermont, not yet a knight, had mustered a relieving force at Blois. With him was John Stewart of Darnley, "Constable of Scotland," La Tour d'Auvergne, and a force of men, some 4000, from Auvergne, the Bourbonnais, and Scotland.

A small party who went to them from Orleans were taken by the English on February 9. On February 10, Dunois rode to Blois, with an escort of 200 men, to know when and where the army of Blois would attack a huge convoy which Fastolf was leading from Paris to the English, with Lenten provender and munitions of war. On the following day, William Stewart, d'Albret, Saintrailles, and La Hire led from Orleans more than 1500 men to join hands with the army of Blois under Charles de Bourbon, and capture Fastolf's convoy. Charles de Bourbon himself led his large force to Rouvray, near Janville; his whole array numbered from 3000 to 4000 fighting men. Fastolf had but 1500, English, Picards, Normans, and others, with details of drivers and commissariat, to guard a convoy of many waggons, laden with guns, ammunition, and, by way of Lenten food, pickled herrings. To rout this motley force, and seize the convoy, was apparently an easy task for an unencumbered army of twice their numbers. But for the timidity of Charles de Bourbon and the imprudent valour of the Scots, the twelfth of February might have seen a fatal blow dealt at the besiegers, and Orleans might have needed no aid from a visionary peasant girl.

But Fastolf knew the great game of war; his mounted skirmishers brought in the intelligence that a French army was not far off, and Fastolf, with his waggons, the long spikes of his archers, and the bundles of palisades connected by iron chains, described by Bueil in *Le Jouvencel*, constructed a scientific *laager*, wide, with a long narrow entry. "There his men chose to live or die, for of escape they had no hope."

Meanwhile the force of La Hire, Poton, Sir Hugh Kennedy, and the rest, all mounted save the archers, and resolved to fight from horseback, were near enough Fastolf's company to charge them before they had formed their *laager*. But Charles de Bourbon, with his 4000 men, kept sending gallopers to bid La Hire and Kennedy await his coming. From deference to Charles, and in great disgust, vigorously expressed by La Hire, the French and Scots awaited impatiently, seeing the *laager* established before their eyes.

The "Constable of Scotland" had now reached the front with four hundred of his countrymen, always anxious to come to hand-strokes. There was an archery skirmish about three in the afternoon. Then Sir John Stewart leaped from his saddle, disregarding the general order to remain mounted, and, with William Stewart, Dunois, and many French gentlemen, led a desperate charge of four hundred against the fortified position of the English. Fastolf, seeing that Charles de Bourbon's force was crawling up very slowly, and could not for long come into action, led a sortie of his own company, greatly outnumbering the assailants, and, according to the *Journal du Siège*, nearly exterminated them. There followed a general rout, the standards of the English, with few men under each, waved in every part of the plain, and the fugitives were being cut down, when La Hire and Poton rallied a handful of eighty horse and began to attack the scattered English. But both the Stewarts and d'Albret, with many other French leaders, had fallen in their wild charge; and Dunois, wounded in the foot by an arrow, was constrained to retreat, while Poton and La Hire formed a rearguard to protect the fugitives against attack by the English from their forts round Orleans. Charles de Bourbon, whose army had not struck a blow, returned to Orleans also, covered with disgrace which did not affect the Dauphin's confidence in him.

Two days later, without opposition, Fastolf marched his convoy and his victorious men into the camp of the English, who gave to this encounter the name of the battle of the Herrings, and made merry over their meagre food.

Orleans was now deserted by Charles de Bourbon, who went to the King at Chinon. The very bishop, John Kirkmichael, a Scot, and a man of the sword, left his unhappy town, and two thousand fighting men decamped, under knights of Auvergne, Scotland, and the Bourbonnais. Even La Hire withdrew, promising to return. Only Dunois and the Maréchal de Boussac and de Sainte Sevère and their men remained at the post of danger. The great effort at relieving Orleans had failed disastrously.

The brave people of the good town did not despair. In the first week of March, while Bedford was raising a forced loan of a quarter of their pay from his officials in Normandy, Dunois received news that a shepherdess, called the Pucelle, had passed through Gien, saying that she came to relieve Orleans, and, by God's decree, to lead the Dauphin to be crowned at Reims.

Meanwhile the condition of the Dauphin is painted in the darkest colours. "Everything went ill with him," says Monstrelet, "and turned from bad to worse." We have only the evidence of the mysterious Monk of Dunfermline for the statement that he made for La Rochelle, intending to sail to Scotland. A less dubious authority says that his Council had considered the plan of retiring to the Dauphiné, and trying to keep the Lyons region with Languedoc and Auvergne.

Meanwhile Poton, with other envoys, had gone to negotiate for the neutrality, under the guardianship of Burgundy, of the city of Orleans. They approached the duke in Flanders; he took them with him to meet Bedford in Paris (April 4–13), and they returned to Orleans on April 17. The Regent refused "to beat the bush and let others catch the birds": a quarrel arose, and the duke told Poton and the other envoys that the Dauphin and his party, if not reinforced, "would be right wretched and of little avail." The embassy had, at least, nearly estranged Burgundy and Bedford. Poton's diplomatic idea was a brilliant one for a reckless cavalry leader. Either they would have peace, if their prayer were granted, or Bedford and Burgundy were sure to quarrel over the matter.

The skirmishes round Orleans continued; really the chief weapon of the English seems to have been their HURRAH, "*cry moult grande et terrible*," which was singularly disconcerting to the French. By March 3 the besiegers began to tighten the weak cordon round Orleans, making a covered sunken way between their largest fortified camp, St. Laurent (outside the western city gate, and commanding the road to Blois), to their fort of St. Ladre, called Paris, which blocked the road from Paris. In this operation they lost fourteen men, including Gray, a nephew of the late Earl

of Salisbury. The English, however, had a success at the fort between St. Laurent—*La Croix Boissée*—and the great hold which they called London.

On March 8 the English were reinforced by two hundred men from Jargeau and by many others from the garrisons in Beauce, and an attack in force was expected. On March 10 the English began to work at their fortress of St. Loup, which was near the river, commanding the ferry above the town, and was meant to stop convoys coming from the south by the further side of the Loire. The city was now girt about by those *bastilles*; for, on the further side of the river, the boulevard of St. Privé, with a fort on the isle of Charlemagne opposite the fort of St. Laurent; the Tourelles at the bridge-head; the fort of the Augustins; and the fort of St. Jean le Blanc, appeared to make entrance by water impossible, and St. Loup guarded the ferry and the approaches from the east.

The citizens were thus straitened, and only a few small supplies came in; but there was never a really "close siege," as the contemporary Burgundian knight, Monstrelet, remarks. Moreover, the English forces, far too few for their task, were divided by the river, and could not, or did not, succour each other, though they held an apparently safe way of crossing from St. Laurent to the fort on the isle Charlemagne, and thence to the fort St. Privé. The English were, at least, well supplied with food, for the Bourgeois de Paris, in his journal, complains that victuals rose to double their price in the town, as so much grain and meat were taken to the besiegers of Orleans.

The Orleans people, however, had to be constantly under arms; the English guns of position began to scatter death, and on April 7 the fighting men of the town let a convoy enter the English camp without opposition. On April 13 a considerable supply of money arrived in the town, and on April 17 came back Poton de Saintrailles, with a trumpeter from the Duke of Burgundy. Bedford would not allow him to take Orleans into his keeping; Burgundy, therefore, withdrew his troops from the English camp,

and the lines of investment were weaker than ever. But by April 19 the English received a great convoy and a considerable reinforcement of Norman vassals, who straightway went home again; and now they finished their fort of St. Jean le Blanc, guarding the ferry from the further side of the Loire, and they cut off a convoy destined for Orleans. None the less, on April 28, they failed to prevent the entry of four hundred French men-at-arms under Florent d'Illiers. This fact in itself proves that they would not leave their fortresses to attack a strong relieving army. Jeanne understood, and prophesied that the English would not oppose her forces, the French leaders did not understand.

The city had now been besieged for six months. English blood and money had been freely spent, but nothing decisive had been done or even attempted; save for the battle of the Herrings, the English had won no laurels since they took the Tourelles. They had not the numbers that would justify them in an attempt to storm the town; nor could they reduce it by starvation. Bedford, who had never approved of the siege, understood his helplessness. Early in April he had expressed his views to the English Council in London. He wrote that he wanted Henry VI to be crowned in Paris: he had already heard, it is clear, of the Maid's design to crown the Dauphin at Reims. He also wrote that the English army at Orleans was thinned by desertions, "without reinforcements and great expense of money the siege cannot be maintained." He demanded 400 lances, and 1200 archers, engaged for half a year. They did not arrive in time.

And now, against the failing English, was to come the Maid, with an ample convoy, and a fairly large relieving force. Had she, in place of Charles de Bourbon, commanded the army of Blois, she would have won the battle of the Herrings, have entered Orleans with 4000 men, and by the audacity of her attack would have raised the siege eleven weeks before, in fact, she did drive the English from the walls.

We left her in the tower of the castle Coudray, at Chinon, eating her own heart with desire to engage. At least she then

made a loyal friend, of the Royal blood, the young Duc d'Alençon, who had been taken at Verneuil (1424), and was recently returned from prison. He was shooting quails in the marshes when he heard how the Maid had arrived, and been received by the Dauphin. Next day he went to the castle and found Jeanne in conversation with her prince. The Dauphin named d'Alençon to her (she did not recognise *him* by miracle); "Sir, you are welcome," she said, "the more of the blood Royal we have together, the better." Next day he saw Jeanne at the royal Mass; she bowed to the Dauphin. When service was over the Dauphin led d'Alençon, La Trémoïlle, and the Maid into a chamber apart, dismissing the rest of his courtiers.

Jeanne, true to her idea that France was held in fief from God, asked the Dauphin to place the realm in the hands of God, and receive it again; a common feudal formality as between lord and vassal. D'Alençon says that this surrender of the realm to the Dauphin's Divine Overlord was only one of the requests which Jeanne made. The affair came to be talked about; it was reported in extant contemporary letters, and despatches to Italy and Germany, and we know what the other requests were, or were supposed to be. The Dauphin was to amend his life, and live after God's will. He was to be clement, and grant a general amnesty; he was to be a good lord to rich and poor, friend and enemy. Two contemporary sources, German and Italian, thus describe the requests of the Maid.

A critic who seeks everywhere for the fraudulent priest behind the scenes of Jeanne's mission, recognises in her requests the voice of the secret clerical prompter. That forger of false prophecies had little to gain by trying to make the Dauphin promise to do what in the coronation oath every king swore to do. Jeanne could not but have learned, at church, that Heaven punishes nations for the sins of their rulers; that the hearts of kings are in the hands of God; that they are but His vassals All this was knowledge common as household words; the current voice of the preacher proclaimed all this, especially in times of

national disaster, and the Maid had taken the knowledge to heart.

So they talked and dined, a strange party of four. There is the Dauphin, always kind, courteous, and unconvinced; there is d'Alençon, young, handsome, and loyal; there is the sceptical La Trémoïlle, his Falstaffian paunch ripening for the dagger thrust dealt in the Tour Coudray (1433), the tower where Jeanne at this time was lodged; there is the beautiful eager Maid, with foreknowledge of doom in her eyes. A month agone she was the guest of Katherine Royer; now she is the companion of kings and princes, and equal to either fortune. In the *Arabian Nights* there is no tale more marvellous.

They talked, and then the Dauphin went into the meadows, where Jeanne so won d'Alençon's heart by gracious horsemanship and managing her lance, that he gave her a horse. Henceforth d'Alençon was to Jeanne her *beau Duc*, they were true comrades in arms, and, in his opinion, on one occasion he owed his life to her. He had fought and was keen to fight again; and like a brave man, he confessed that Jeanne once gave him courage at a moment when he needed her inspiration.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW ST. CATHERINE AT POITIERS

At Chinon much time was wasted. It was, no doubt, desirable that a set of learned divines should look into Jeanne's case. She claimed to be inspired; she was credited, however vaguely, with exhibitions of supernormal faculties, or, as they would have said, with power to see things far remote—if the tale of her clairvoyance of the battle of the Herrings had reached men's ears—with power to behold the future—if they had heard of her prediction that the man who insulted her should be drowned.

These were perilous accomplishments. As late as 1616, Jonka Dyneis was burned in the Orkneys for no greater offence. Her husband being at sea in a fishing boat, and in peril six miles from their home, "she was found and seen standing at her own house wall, in a trance, that same hour he was in danger, and, being trapped, she could not give answer, but stood as bereft of senses; and when she was asked why she was so moved, she answered, "If our boat be not lost, she is in great hazard." So Jonka Dyneis was burned at a stake for a mere moment of telepathy. But in 1616, and much later, telepathy was condemned as a "phairie control" in Scotland. The learned of the King's party must test Jeanne, and find out whether her "controls" were not fairies. Either she was inspired by God, or she was a limb of the Devil; only the wisest clerks could decide, if even they could. To be mixed up with a witch or a possessed woman would harm the Dauphin's character much more than complicity in a mere normal murder on the bridge of Montereau.

Jeanne was therefore sent to Poitiers, the chief University

town, and home of the Bar in the shrunken realm of the Dauphin. If we may believe a chronicle, written by Cousinot, secretary of the King, or another Cousinot, chancellor of the Duc d'Orléans, she knew not whither they were leading her. "To Poitiers? In God's name I know I shall have trouble enough; but let us be going." She went to the house of Jean Rabuteau, the lay Advocate General; she was still clad, no doubt sumptuously, as a page. Jeanne would rather have faced the hottest fire at the closest quarters than be cross-examined by learned old lawyers and divines, whom she regarded as the most tedious and futile of mankind. For people in religion, for working priests, she had a sacred regard. For the Doctors and their silly "celestial science," she had a hearty contempt. They were to be her bane.

Absolutely convinced of the authenticity of her mission, seeing, as she said, her Saints "with her bodily eyes as clearly as she saw" the dull doctors, she fretted over the waste of her one invaluable year. With a company of men-at-arms, however small, she would relieve Orleans. That was as plain to her as the sun in heaven. One thing, meanwhile, she could do, when not being cross-examined; she prayed daily and nightly in a little chapel attached to Rabuteau's house, which then, or later, was known as the Hôtel de la Rose. According to a *venerabilis et scientificus vir*, King's Advocate and Doctor of Laws, she "answered her interrogators as well as any good clerk could do, and they believed she had a divine mission." If so, they were much too scientific to give this as their mature opinion in writing. Like the rest of the Dauphin's subjects, they were miserably needy; but their poverty did not induce them to accept Jeanne with headlong enthusiasm.

Brother Séguin, Professor of Theology, was sent by the Archbishop of Reims—the President of the Examining Commission—to interrogate the Maid, with a number of other University professors, who owe their shadowy immortality to this circumstance alone. (It seems that there were two men named Séguin on the board; one a Carmelite, the other a Dominican.) Professor Jean

Lombart asked her what made her come to the King? She answered haughtily (*magno modo*)—for she was weary of them—that "a Voice came to her while she was herding her flock, and told her that God had great pity on the people of France, and that she must needs go into France. That she thereon wept," but at last went to Baudricourt, and so to Chinon. A Voice was mentioned, of visions nothing was said. Professor Aymeri said, "If God wishes to deliver France, He does not need men-at-arms." Jeanne knew that the English were not the kind of devils who go out merely under stress of prayer and fasting; she said, "In God's name the men-at-arms will fight, and God will give the victory." "Wherewith Professor Aymeri was content."

Professor Séguin then asked, "What language does the Voice speak?" Uniformly courteous as she was, the absurdity of the professorial query broke down her politeness. What language save French could she understand? "The Voice speaks a better language than yours," for he was a Limousin, and their *patois* was a common subject of ridicule.

"Do you believe in God?"

"More firmly than you do!"

"God does not wish us to believe in *you* without better evidence. We cannot advise the King to entrust you with men-at-arms on your mere assertion, and risk their lives, unless you tell us more than this." He wanted an instant miracle by way of corroboration.

"In God's name, I did not come to Poitiers to work miracles! Take me to Orleans, and I will show you the signs of my sending; give me few men or many, and I go." She then ventured on four predictions. She would, first, summon the English, and then, if they were recalcitrant, would drive them from their siege. Next, the Dauphin would be crowned at Reims. Third, Paris would come into his allegiance. Lastly, the Duc d'Orléans would return from England. Séguin had seen, by 1456, but Jeanne only foresaw the fulfilment of the third and fourth predictions.

A young man of the sword, Thibault, meeting Jeanne at

Rabuteau's house, was more kindly received than the theologians. "She struck me on the shoulder saying that she wished she had many men of as good will as I." Thibault heard some professors ask their old questions. She replied that she would raise the siege and crown the King, and dictated a letter summoning the English to depart. A letter of this kind is dated March 22, but is not the brief note of three lines dictated to Maître Pierre de Versailles. "I know not A from B," she said to Versailles, in Thibault's presence, "Have you paper and ink?" Erault then wrote down her summons to the English. Some of the Doctors, at least Erault, had heard Marie d'Avignon prophesy, and Erault is said to have firmly believed that Jeanne was the Maid who should bear arms, according to that prediction of Marie d'Avignon to Charles VI. Machet, the King's confessor and old tutor, also said, Thibault reports, that he had seen in writing that a Maid was to come who should aid the King of France.

The Doctors asked Jeanne why she, like foreigners at the time, spoke of the King as "the Dauphin." She replied that she would call him by no other title till he was consecrated at Reims. When dining with d'Alençon, Jeanne told the sympathetic duke that "she had been much questioned, but she knew and could do more than she had confided to the inquirers." The King, however, sent her again to Poitiers for a fresh examination. To the widow of Regnier de Boullegny she said, in the autumn of 1429, that she had told the Doctors, "There is more in the books of the Lord than in yours." The Doctors could not deny this: as inspiration never ceased, as the wind blew where it listed, a layman or a woman might, by God's grace, know more than they did of what, in the old Greek phrase, "is written in the books of Zeus."

The danger that Jeanne might come to hold that she knew more than the Church knew, and things contrary to the decisions of the Church, was alway hanging over her. She had the most unwavering certainty that her personal experiences were divinely sent. She saw and touched the appearances; she knew that

the Saints breathed the fragrant odour of sanctity; she heard from their lips the words of the will of God. These were matters of fact, not of faith. To her the Doctors were pedants, their heavenly science was foolishness, as all science is that thinks it knows everything. Herein lay her peril.

The Doctors easily persuaded themselves that there was no harm in the male costume of the Maid. Holy women had worn it, in cases of necessity. Jeanne's maidenhood was vouched for later, at Tours, by a jury of illustrious ladies, including the Queen of Sicily, mother-in-law of the Dauphin.

Emissaries were sent to Domremy to inquire into her previous history. Who they were we know not; that they were mendicant friars is a mere conjecture. The evidence for it is the error of a modern historian.

They may have brought back the story that the cocks crowed on Twelfth Night, when Jeanne was born; and that birds fed from her lap, and wolves did not harm her flocks; while enemies spared the gear in general: all these things may be true, but none of them is miraculous. If they heard of her vision of the battle of the Herrings, it did not find its way into any extant contemporary account.

As far as the evidence goes, Jeanne was not formally examined before the whole Board of Doctors. Thibault says that two of them visited her at the house of Rabuteau. Other witnesses, four, speak of visits of small parties of the learned; one occurred while d'Alençon was present; another while Gobert Thibault, the man-at-arms whom she clapped on the shoulder, was present.

We hear of nothing more formal than these visits of small parties. Had there been several days of examination by the whole Commission, Séguin is likely to have mentioned it. At Rouen, before her judges, Jeanne often appealed to the "Book of Poitiers," as if it had been a formal record of her replies especially as to her three Saints, in that place. Of this book nothing is known; it was not cited in the Trial of Rehabilitation (1450–1456). As far as our evidence from Poitiers goes, she

said nothing in detail, to the Commission there, about her visions. She had been rather more communicative to her good friends, Jean de Novelonpont and Bertrand de Poulengy, who were with her at Poitiers.

It is certain that Jeanne never advertised herself, never nourished legends by saying a word about her experiences beyond what was strictly necessary. At her trial, she said that her two lady Saints were "crowned with fair crowns, richly and preciously. Concerning this, I have leave from God to speak. If you doubt me, send to Poitiers, where I was examined before." Perhaps she revealed these additional facts in her second examination at Poitiers, of which d'Alençon speaks.

If she did, the secret was well kept, and it in no way added to the confidence felt by her examiners at Poitiers. Their report was to this effect. The King, in the circumstances of his poor people, should not reject the Maid, nor ought he lightly to believe in her. But, in accordance with Holy Scripture he ought to make trial of her in two ways, that is, first by human wisdom, examining into her life, character, and intentions; and, secondly, by devout prayer, asking a sign of some divine deed or ground of hope, by which he may judge whether she is come by the will of God. The case of Gideon's fleece is quoted.

The Maid's character has been studied; inquiry has been made into her past life, her birth, her intentions; for six weeks she has been examined by clerks, churchmen, men of the sword, matrons, and widows. Nothing has been found in her but honesty, simplicity, humility, maidenhood, and devotion. Of her birth various marvels are reported (the cocks crowing!). As for the sign demanded, she says she will give it before Orleans, for so God commands her.

The King, then, ought not to prevent her from going to Orleans to show the sign of heavenly succour. She may go with the army, under honourable superintendence.

This permission is devoid of fanatical enthusiasm; but when the Doctors praise the *humility* of the Maid, they show good

nature! Copies of the verdict of the examiners were distributed everywhere, to clear the Government from charges of credulity; it was issued, apparently, about April 17–20.

Jeanne was now accepted, and was sent to Tours, while arms were prepared for her, and a Household was appointed to attend on her.

Here we may cast a backward glance of wonder at the many faceted character of the Maid. The most notable features are her perfect faith in her mission and in her revelations, and her constant tenacity of purpose. Rebuffs and ridicule could not shake her for a moment, though her normal common sense was in perfect agreement with the general opinion. An ignorant girl, who could not ride or fight, her mission, if deprived of its inspiration, was ridiculous. Nobody knew it better than she; but often she met her heavenly visitors, courteous, encouraging, consoling. She wept when they departed, she kissed the ground where they had stood; she desired that they should take her with them. She was sane, yet she had these ineffable experiences. In them, and in her faith in them, was her strength. When withdrawn from company she was much in prayer. "To pray, we do not say with the lips, but to pray with the whole sincerity of the heart, is to win an inexhaustible source of moral strength. This we say simply from the point of view of the man of science (*le naturaliste*), who only concerns himself with the effects of a fact, and only considers truths of observation and experience."

So writes M. Siméon Luce merely as an historian, who declines to go beyond his chosen province, and will not discuss matters of metaphysics and religion.

In faith and prayer, ignorant of mystical practices and methods of provoking hallucinations, Jeanne did her work. But she was no pale ecstatic; no man is reported to have seen her in other than the full force of her normal waking consciousness. We have noted her gay disdain of the learned Doctors; her otherwise undeviating distinction of manners; her frankness; her skill in horsemanship. Her ways were those of a clean honest public

schoolboy. While in so much she represents the swift glad courage of France, in her manner, as when she slapped Thibault on the shoulder and replied to Séguin, she was like an English boy, and her dress made that aspect of her nature more conspicuous. In her was as much of chivalry as of sanctity. Gay and gaily glad, whether in armour or in rich colours and gold embroidered doublets; now riding like a young knight, now leading in the deadly breach, Jeanne was not the *béguine*, or pious prude, of her latest French biographer! Nowhere among visionaries is there another like the Maid; "her brothers of Paradise" never had such another sister among the Saints on earth.

There is reason to surmise that the qualified acceptance of Jeanne by the Doctors at Poitiers was announced to a gathering of the adherents of the Dauphin. According to the *Chronique de la Pucelle*, it was later than her first interview with her Dauphin that Jeanne revealed to him, "in the presence of a few of his Privy Councillors and his confessor (Machet), something known only to God and himself." The Councillors and confessor had to take an oath that they would not reveal this secret. *After* this (by a confusion of the sequence of events) she was examined at Poitiers. In the Appendix on "The King's Secret" these points are examined. On the whole it seems that the secret, with Jeanne's knowledge of it, was imparted to the Archbishop of Reims, after which the clergy at Poitiers gave their permission to employ her at Orleans. It was impossible for them to allude, publicly, to the sign given in her knowledge of the secret.

CHAPTER X

JEANNE AT TOURS. MARCH TO ORLEANS

To the city of Tours, then held by the Queen of Sicily, mother-in-law of the Dauphin, the Maid carried a light heart and a happy face. Like her St. Catherine, she had overcome the learned men. She dwelt with Eleanor, wife of Jean du Puy, herself one of the Queen's ladies. The town was rich and loyal, and had aided Orleans with supplies of money.

In Tours, a city well known for its smiths, Jeanne was to have a complete suit of "white armour" made, and Jean de Novelonpont and Bertrand de Poulengy were also equipped. Their armour, it may be noted, was on the same scale of expense; that of Jeanne, as smaller, cost less, a hundred *livres tournois*, while those of her friends cost a hundred and twenty-five *livres*. As we hear that a horse bought for Jeanne at Vaucouleurs cost, by one account twelve, by another, sixteen *livres*, we may regard the price of an ordinary suit of armour as equivalent to that of six good horses.

The armour included a helmet, which covered the head to its junction with the neck, while a shallow cup of steel protected the chin, moving on the same hinge as the *salade*,—a screen of steel which in battle was drawn down over the face to meet the chin-plate, and, when no danger was apprehended, was turned back, leaving the face visible. A neck-piece or gorget of five overlapping steel plates covered the chest as far as the breast-bone, where it ended in a point, above the steel corslet, which itself apparently was clasped in front, down the centre, ending at the waist. The hip joints were guarded by a band, consisting of

three overlapping plates of steel; below this, over each thigh, was a kind of skirt of steel, open in the centre for freedom in riding. There were strong thick shoulder-plates; yet one of these was pierced through and through by an arrow, or crossbow bolt, at close quarters, when Jeanne was mounting a scaling ladder in the attack on the English fort at the bridge-head of Orleans. The steel sleeves had plates with covered hinges to guard the elbows; there were steel gauntlets, thigh-pieces, knee-joints, greaves, and steel shoes. The horse, a heavy weight-carrier, had his chamfron of steel, and the saddle rose high at the pummel and behind the back. A *hucque*, or cloak of cloth of gold, velvet, or other rich material, was worn over the armour. For six days continuously Jeanne bore this weight of steel, it is said, probably in the campaign of Jargeau and Pathay. Her exploits were wrought, and she received her wounds, while she was leading assaults on fortified places, standard in hand.

As to the famous mystic sword of the Maid, we really know no more than she told her judges in 1431. "While I was at Tours or Chinon, I sent to seek for a sword in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, behind the altar; and presently it was found, all rusty." Asked how she knew that the sword was there, she said "It was a rusty sword in the earth, with five crosses on it, and I knew of it through my Voices. I had never seen the man who went to look for it. I wrote to the churchmen of Fierbois, and asked them to let me have it, and they sent it. It was not deep in the earth; it was behind the altar, as I think, but I am not certain whether it was in front of the altar or behind it. I think I wrote that it was behind it. When it was found, the clergy rubbed it, and the rust readily fell off. The man who brought it was a merchant of Tours who sold armour. The clergy of Fierbois gave me a sheath; the people of Tours gave me two, one of red velvet, one of cloth of gold, but I had a strong leather sheath made for it."

The sword must have attracted much attention, as the people of Tours gave two splendid sheaths; but it is not mentioned in any

JEANNE D'ARC.

From a Miniature on Parchment (XV Century) in the Collection of Monsieur Georges Spetz.

documents of 1429, except by an Italian news-letter writer and the clerk of La Rochelle, who says that the sword was in a coffer within the great altar of the church at Fierbois, and the people of the church knew nothing about it. Making search, they found it in the old coffer that had not been opened for twenty years.

At this time, at least before April 22, when the fact was recorded in a letter by de Rotselaer, a Flemish diplomatist at Lyons, Jeanne told the King that she would be wounded at Orleans by an arrow or crossbow bolt, but not mortally. The prediction was fulfilled; it is more singular that it was recorded in writing a fortnight before the event.

Jeanne, by the Dauphin's desire, was to have an *état*, a Household. Among its members were a confessor, an equerry, and two pages. The confessor, Jean Pasquerel, was an Augustinian. If she had been so entirely devoted to the Cordeliers, or begging friars of the Order of St. Francis, as some historians imagine, it seems probable that she would have chosen a Franciscan. Pasquerel, in 1456, gave evidence that he had been *in villa Aniciensi*, the town of Puy en Velay (some historians dispute the identity of the town, and place it in Touraine), and had there met the mother of the Maid, and some of the men who rode with her from Vaucouleurs. They took a fancy to Pasquerel,—they had already some acquaintance with him, and insisted on his coming with them (with the men, not with Jeanne's mother, probably) to Tours. Jeanne had heard of Pasquerel before, and confessed to him next day. He remained with her till her capture at Compiègne in May 1430.

The *villa Aniciensis* is usually taken to be Puy en Velay, and probably Pasquerel and the Maid's companions (we do not know their names) had been at Puy on account of the great religious assembly held there when the Annunciation and Good Friday fell on the same day, March 25, in 1429. Indulgences were given at these seasons; and so great and excited were the crowds that four hundred people had been crushed and suffocated on one occasion,

while there were thirty victims at a later jubilee. It was matter of popular belief that years when the Annunciation and Good Friday fell on the same day, were always marked by strange events; in 1429 this impression was confirmed. The image of the "Black Virgin" at Puy was regarded as the oldest made in France; so Charles VII informed his subjects; while the church was the oldest dedicated to Our Lady. This does not agree with the tradition that the image was made out of sycamore wood by the prophet Jeremiah, and brought from Egypt by St. Louis. If that legend were partially true, we might suppose that the crusading king had picked up in Egypt an image of Isis and the child Osiris, especially as the object at Puy was called the "Black Virgin."

It has been suggested that Jeanne's Voices, in May 1428, selected mid-Lent, 1429, as the date when Heaven would send aid to the Dauphin, because of the pious excitement likely to occur at the function on March 25, 1429. Of that we know nothing; nor have historians any evidence for the statement that Jeanne *sent* her companions to Puy, though she may have wished them to meet her mother there. Isabelle d'Arc had made a pilgrimage of a hundred leagues, a proof of her vigour and of her enterprise, for we know that robbers assailed pilgrims on this occasion. It is not improbable that Jeanne's brothers, Jean and Pierre, accompanied their mother to Puy, and thence went on to join the Maid at Tours. The brothers rode with her from Blois to Orleans. Jacques d'Arc must have changed his mind as to the Maid's association with soldiers.

In addition to Pasquerel and her two pages, Louis de Coutes and Raymond, Jeanne had an equerry, Jean d'Aulon, one of the best men in the kingdom, according to Dunois.

This loyal servant was ever by the side of the Maid in her most daring actions; he was captured at last when she was taken; he rose later to high rank, as seneschal of Beaucaire, and he lived to testifiy nobly to the character of Jeanne in the Trial of Rehabilitation (1456). The only whispers against the independence

of d'Aulon which have reached us are not of earlier source than 1908. We are told that d'Aulon "was the most destitute squire in the kingdom. He belonged body and soul (*appartenait entirèment*) to La Trémoïlle, who aided him with money; but he had a good name for honour and conduct. . . . Jeanne was in the hands of d'Aulon, and d'Aulon was in the hands of La Trémoïlle, to whom he owed money."

Any inquirer who cares to satisfy himself that these statements are absolutely without support, may consult the note on this passage at the end of the book.

Jean de Novelonpont at this time was the Maid's treasurer; to him money for her use was paid. Minute inquiry has ascertained that, before he became acquainted with the Maid, Jean was once fined a few sous for swearing profanely! The Maid attempted to put down this practice. She could not enforce discipline except by aid of religion. Hers was to be a holy war. Like other commanders of companies, she had her standard; St. Margaret and St. Catherine bade her take a standard, and bear it valiantly, and thereon was to be painted the King of Heaven. She told the Dauphin about this command very reluctantly, and she did not know its mystic signification. "The world was painted on it" (doubtless the globe in the hand of Our Lord); there was an angel at each side; the stuff was white linen *semé* with *fleurs de lys*; and the motto was JESUS MARIA. The angels were represented not as her guardians, but for the glory of God. The Maid always bore her standard when in action, that she might strike no man with the sword; she never slew any man. The personal blazon of the Maid was a shield azure with a white dove, bearing in its beak a scroll whereon was written, *De par le Roy du ciel.*

What is meant when we speak of Jeanne's "company," her *gens*, must be explained. At Orleans she had only the three or four lances of her Household, with any free lances and citizens who chose to fight under her standard. At Orleans she held no official command.

Thus equipped, and in the society of good men and true, like

d'Aulon, Jean de Novelonpont, Bertrand de Poulengy, and de Gaucourt, and with the less trustworthy Regnault de Chartres, Chancellor and Archbishop of Reims, the Maid rode to Blois. Hither had come, with men and supplies, the Maréchal de Rais (later justly or unjustly executed for unspeakable crimes), the Maréchal de Boussac; de Culen, Admiral of France; the brave La Hire, redeeming the promise given when he left Orleans, and Ambroise de Loré.

It is impossible to ascertain the numbers of the relieving army, but an approximate calculation can be made, probably the force was under 4000 men. (See Notes.)

But Dunois bears witness that, in these days, before the coming of the Maid, two hundred Englishmen would drive in flight eight hundred or a thousand of the French, so French numbers mattered little. Moreover, when Jeanne arrived with the army and convoy at a place above Orleans on the farther bank, Dunois and the other captains did not think the force adequate to resist an English attack. The English prestige was infinitely greater than their behaviour during the siege appears to justify. Still Dunois and the rest knew their men, and certainly had no high opinion of their chances of success. The five or six new English forts, built in April, were imposing in appearance, and no effort to capture any one of them had been made. The *Hurrah!* was confessedly "great and terrible"; the French were subject to panic. The moral advantage on the English side was incalculable, and the very truth is that the Maid instantly transferred the moral advantage to her own side. The soldiers of Wellington and Napoleon considered the presence of these generals to be worth many thousand men, and the same value was set on the Maid. As we do not know that the Dauphin would have made any new effort after Rouvray to collect forces and money to relieve Orleans but for the prayer of the Maid, "instantly demanding," says Dunois, "men, horses, and arms," it is no idle legend that salutes her as the Deliverer of the city.

One obstacle to an earlier attempt to relieve Orleans, after the

defeat of February 12, had been the lack of money. In September 1428, when Orleans was first threatened, an assembly of the Estates of Languedoc and Languedoil had voted supplies to the extent of 500,000 francs. The Dauphin was reduced to an expedient very familiar to the kings of Scotland. He pawned his jewels! In July 1424 there were but two fleurons left on his crown. In October 1428, La Trémoïlle advanced money to redeem from pawn the gold ornaments of the Royal helmet. Charles gave things away as freely as James VI used to do, when he had got a sum together by pledging his diamonds and pearls. The chief recipient of money was La Trémoïlle, who also lent money to the Dauphin, and probably gained on both sides. At Blois the army and the great convoy of cattle and grain was at a standstill for want of money. The Duc d'Alençon went to seek it from the King, and, somehow, the King got and parted with sufficient coin.

Meanwhile a pious regiment of priests had come in, many of them, no doubt, in need of a morsel of bread from the rations. We learn from Jeanne's confessor, Pasquerel, that she had a banner (not a standard) painted with Our Lord crucified, under which, twice a day, she assembled all the priests that were with the army. They sang hymns, and no man-at-arms might join in unless he was clean confessed. Thus some measure of discipline and decent behaviour was introduced by the Maid.

> "Had they died on that day they had won the skies,
> And the Maiden had marched them through paradise!"

When they left Blois, the clergy went in advance, singing *Veni creator spiritus*. On April 28 this strange force, with a convoy of cattle, arrived opposite Orleans by the south bank of the Loire, the bank farther from Orleans. The Maid had suffered much pain from the weight of the armour which she proved for the first time, says her page, de Coutes, and when she came at last in sight of the few remaining spires and the battered walls and towers of Orleans, she was not in the most propitious of tempers.

Dunois, commanding in Orleans, bore the brunt of her indignation: happily he was young, courteous, and knew that a soft answer turns away wrath.

The army had halted at the river harbour, Bouchet, on their own side of the stream, and the leaders must have been in some perplexity. Their plan had been to march up the south bank of Loire for the purpose of avoiding both the English garrisons that commanded the bridges of Meun and Beaugency, and also the main force of Talbot at St. Laurent and in the other forts on the Orleans side. They would transport the cattle and stores in boats provided by the townsfolk—*up-stream*—a distance of some five miles, to Chécy, a village between Jargeau, which the English held, and the east gate of Orleans. Thence they would bring the convoy to the east or Burgundian gate of Orleans unopposed except by the English fort of St. Loup. This was not difficult, for the garrison and townsfolk of Orleans were much more than strong enough to march out of the Burgundy gate and contain the garrison of St. Loup.

This has the air of being a well-combined plan; but, as it chanced, the wind was blowing hard down-stream, and the sailing-boats, or shallops, used in river traffic, could not ascend the stream to Chécy, and the army and convoy seemed open to attack by Suffolk and Talbot, who could cross the river safely under the guns of the fort in the isle of Charlemagne, and of the Tourelles and fort St. Augustine.

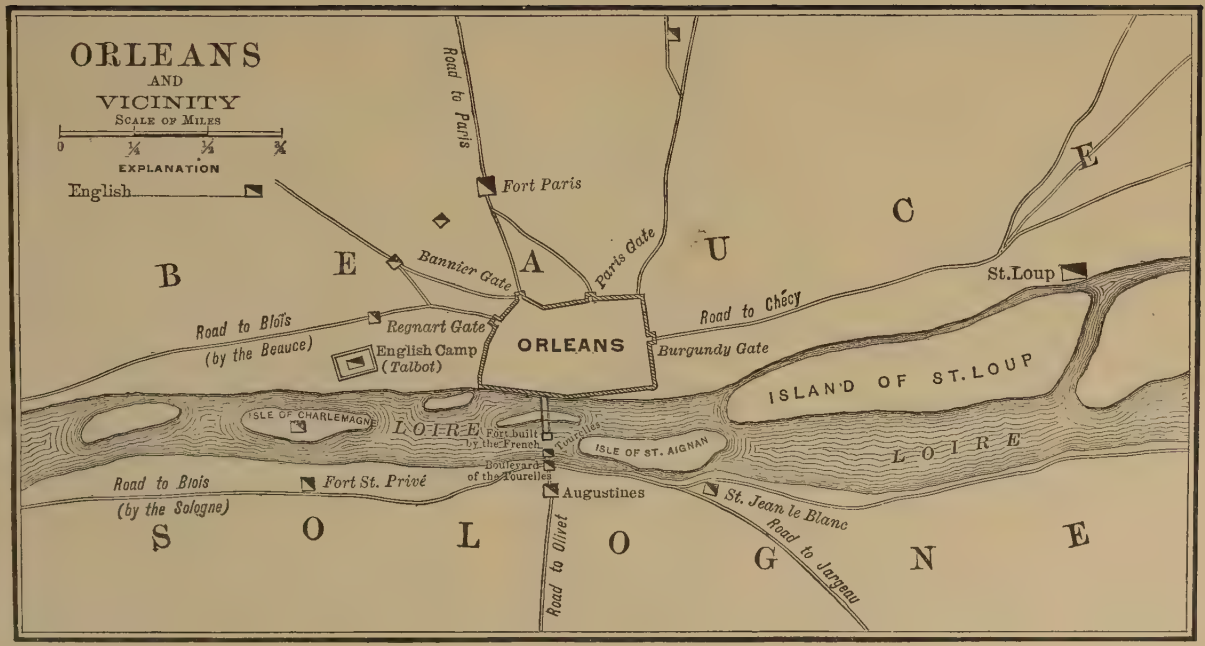
It was in these critical circumstances that Dunois crossed by boat and approached the Maid.

Said she, using the title which Dunois then bore, "Are you the Bastard of Orleans?"

"I am, and right glad of your coming."

"Was it you who gave counsel to come by this bank of the river, so that I cannot go straight against Talbot and the English?"

"I, and others wiser than I, gave that counsel, and I think it the wiser way and the safer."



From F. C. Lowell's *Joan of Arc.*

By permission of Messrs. Houghton Mifflin Company.

"In God's name, the counsel of Our Lord is wiser and safer than yours. You think to deceive me, and you deceive yourself, for I bring you better rescue than ever came to knight or city, the succour of the King of Heaven. . . ."

There has been much discussion as to the deceit practised on the Maid, and as to her own motives for wishing to march straight past the English of Beaugency and Meun, and under the forts of the main English force around Orleans. The facts are really simple. The leaders were taking Jeanne "against the English." She had seen them in the Tourelles, the outwork, and the Augustine fort. Even if they understood that she desired to march past Talbot's main force, they had preferred their own tactics, though these were now seen to be perilous.

But to understand the motives of Jeanne, we need not try to imagine "what a saint would have thought in the circumstances." It is not true, as has been alleged, that "she had said to the Doctors at Poitiers, 'The siege will be raised, and the city delivered from its enemies, after I have summoned the English in the name of the King of Heaven.'" In the two Chronicles which are cited in support of this statement I find not a word to that effect.

Jeanne made no promise that the English would depart as soon as she had summoned them. There is no reason to suppose that she "perhaps expected Talbot to fall on his knees before her and obey, not her, but Him who sent her."

She wished to summon the English before fighting them, precisely as Salisbury had summoned the people of Orleans to surrender at a moment when he had not the faintest chance of taking their town. It was a formula; an expression of desire to avoid the shedding of Christian blood. Moreover, Jeanne had a special motive; she was entirely confident of victory; and, as it were, did not wish "to bet on a certainty." Again, she knew, if the French leaders did not, from the conduct of the English that they would not leave their forts to attack a large force passing out of range of their guns. They had allowed

small armed companies to come and go without opposition, or with slight opposition, for they were weakened by many desertions, and were only holding on in hopes of the reinforcements demanded, a month ago, by Bedford, and daily expected under the leadership of Fastolf.

Jeanne understood, if Dunois did not, that the English were weak and demoralised. A week later, a feebler force than hers entered Orleans on the north side of the river. Her own plan of entry, by the front door, would encourage the people of Orleans much more potently than the entrance by the back door, and by water, which was now seen to be very perilous. Jeanne was practical in her tactics, she was not a dreamy Saint.

As Jeanne was saying to Dunois, "I bring you better rescue than ever came to knight or town, the succour of the King of Heaven," "in a moment the wind, which was contrary and strong, shifted," says Dunois himself, "and became favourable; the sails filled," and, with Nicolas de Giresme, later Prior of the Knights of Rhodes, he "crossed, with no good will of the English, to St. Loup." Apparently he returned, or perhaps it was before he set sail that he implored Jeanne to cross with him, "and enter Orleans, where they longed for her sorely." Jeanne made a difficulty; she could not leave the army, which had to return to Blois to bring another convoy. Without her they might fall into sin, lose their discipline, as we say, in fact she was afraid that they would not return,—a fear rather practical than saintly. Dunois then implored the leaders to be content without Jeanne, to let her come into Orleans and save a dangerous disappointment of the populace. The captains agreed, promising to return; and Jeanne, sending Pasquerel and the other priests to chaperon her moral army on its march to Blois, crossed the Loire with Dunois, who was strangely impressed by the turn of the wind. He took that to be her promised "succour from the King of Heaven," for delay was dangerous. Talbot might do what he ought to have done, cross with a force from St. Laurent and fall on the confused army and convoy of France.

In any case, Jeanne crossed with a force of two hundred lances. The wind was so favourable now that each vessel towed two others, "a marvellous thing, a miracle of God," says another witness.

At Orleans the recent occurrences had been these:

On April 27 the English had seized a convoy from Blois; they were therefore expected to make a united attempt on that which was accompanied by Jeanne.

On April 28, d'Illiers had been opposed at his entry with four hundred men.

On April 29, the day of Jeanne's arrival into the town, fifty foot soldiers came in from French garrisons without opposition, so tame were the English; and the French made a fairly resolute attack on St. Loup (the English fort which commanded her landing-place, about a league above Orleans), and took a standard. Meanwhile Jeanne, after reaching the northern bank at Chécy, on April 28, had passed the night at Reuilly, the house of Guy de Cailly, resting before her entry into Orleans town on April 29.

Concerning Jeanne's host there is a singular story. It is an extraordinary thing, considering the ferment of men's minds, that nobody is reported to have shared any of her visions. Now, "collective hallucinations" are a fact in human nature; there is irrefragable evidence to one case in the works of Patrick Walker, who saw a multitude convinced that they beheld swords falling from heaven. Though Patrick was an enthusiastically fanatical Covenanter, he could see nothing of the sort; while a blaspheming cavalier laird, after cursing the folly of the crowd, did see the marvel. The Knock phantasms, in Ireland, are another historical case of collective hallucinations. Yet legend has not averred that Jeanne's visions were shared by any person. The only exception is in the case of her host at Reuilly, Guy de Cailly. A dubious grant of arms to him makes Charles VII declare that, as the Maid herself informed him, he shared her vision of "three superior angels."

He is granted "a blazon of azure and argent with three heads

of Cherubim, or and gules." The date of the grant is "at Sully, June 1429," just before the march to Reims. The higher criticism regards with much suspicion a document of which we have only a copy made in the sixteenth century.

At Reuilly, Jeanne passed the following day (April 29). It was decided that she should enter under cloud of night, to avoid the press of people. Multitudes had gone out to meet her, as, attended by troops of torch-bearers, and riding, magnificently mounted, at the right hand of Dunois, she slowly advanced through a people "making such joy as if they saw God descend among them; and not without reason, for they had suffered sorely, and what is worse, had little hope of succour, but feared to lose their lives and goods. But now they were comforted as if the siege were already raised, thanks to the divine virtue which dwelt, as they had been told, in the simple Maid. Lovingly they gazed on her, men, women, and little children. And there was marvellous pressing to touch her as she rode, so much that a torch-bearer came so near her standard that it caught fire. Then she struck the spurs into her horse, and lightly she turned him on the standard, and crushed out the flame, as one might do that had long followed the wars."

So they led her rejoicing to the church of the Holy Rood, where she gave thanks to God, and then to the house of Jacquet Boucher, treasurer of the Duc d'Orléans, at the Regnart gate, nearest to the great English fort of St. Laurent. Here she and her brothers and Jean de Novelonpont and Bertrand de Poulengy were made right welcome, but "boarded out."

She had come at last, she had given a sign, the wind had changed at her word! Henceforth she wrought military signs and wonders in the eyes of French and English.

She shared that night a bed with Charlotte, a little girl of nine, the daughter of her host; such bed-fellowship was usual; the Dauphin slept with a gentleman of his bedchamber, de Boisy. The child lived to give evidence as to the Maid's "simplicity, humility, and chastity," and her habit of confessing and receiving the Holy Communion before going into battle. Jeanne frequently

consoled her hostess with the assurance that the siege would certainly be raised.

The day after the morrow began her allotted year with the month of May, the month of her triumph, the month of her capture, the month of her "deliverance with great victory" of faith.

CHAPTER XI

THE MAID'S VICTORIES AT ORLEANS

THE arrival of Jeanne in Orleans on the evening of April 29 was not the occasion of fiercer fighting, but of a pause in hostilities. She herself, and the circumstances of the case, brought not a sword, but peace, for three or four days. She would not take part in the war till she had summoned the English to depart in peace. Moreover, the main part of the relieving army, all but the Maid's two hundred lances, had at once begun to retrace their way to Blois, to bring back another convoy of cattle and supplies of grain. Dunois had remained in Orleans, but he felt that his presence in Blois was necessary. There were suspicions that the Council of the Dauphin would think that enough had been done, and would hesitate to place so large a force within Orleans, crowded with fugitives from the surrounding country, and still inadequately provisioned. The Council was always, and not unjustly, suspected of indolence and faintness of heart. Dunois was therefore determined to go and use his influence.

Jeanne herself was reluctant to wait for the forces at Blois, and, says Dunois, would scarcely give her assent to his departure. She wished to summon the English to depart in peace; and she did so, on April 30, while Dunois was still by her side. Her letter to the English is dated on "Tuesday in Holy Week," March 22, 1429. She had dictated it before she was accepted by the Commission at Poitiers, but it was not delivered to the English by her heralds till April 30. (On the blunders about the herald, see notes.) Headed "Jhesus Maria," the letter speaks to the King of England,

de la Pole (Suffolk), Talbot, and Scales, bidding them restore to the Maid, sent by God, the keys of the good French towns which they occupy and despoil. She is ready to offer peace, if they will do her right. She also addresses the English men-at-arms, gentle and simple, bidding them depart from Orleans at their instant peril. "She says, "I am *chef de guerre*," which does *not* mean "commander-in-chief." She will drive them out of France if they disobey; if they obey, she will be merciful. Charles, not they, will hold the realm. Charles is true heir; God wills it, and *the Maid reveals it to him.* He will enter Paris in good company. (She does not say that *she* will.) If they resist, we French "*ferons ung si grant hahay*"; not a diplomatic phrase! If they do right to the Maid, they "may come with her where the French will do the greatest deed that ever was wrought for Christendom" (a Crusade).

This letter was carried to the English commanders by two heralds, Guienne and Ambleville. The English, who probably laughed over the epistle, sent back Ambleville, but kept Guienne, intending to burn him. "The Maid told Ambleville to return boldly to the English, they would not harm him, he would bring back his comrade safely; as he did." So a citizen of Orleans declared; but the chronicle written by another herald, Berri (who was likely to be interested in the unlucky herald, Guienne), says that the English actually erected the stake for Guienne's burning; but meanwhile they consulted the University of Paris about this monstrous breach of the law of nations—a herald being sacrosanct. Before they received a reply they were driven from Orleans, and left Guienne behind them in irons.

Though the Maid took no part in battle on April 30, La Hire and Florent d'Illiers, with a force of men-at-arms and some citizens, and with standards displayed, attacked an English outpost between their fort of Paris and the city wall, and drove the men into the main work. A cry went through the town that every man should bring faggots and fire the English works; but nothing was done, because the English uttered their dreadful *Hurrah!*

and stood to their arms. An artillery duel did as much or as little execution as usual.

It was in the evening that the Maid summoned Glasdale and the garrison of the Tourelles to depart in peace. They shouted back across the river, called her "milkmaid," and promised to burn her if they could catch her. This was her second summons; she had yet to make her third and last. (For a strange modern legend of the events of April 30, see note on the passage.)

On Sunday, May 1, Dunois, with a sufficient escort, and with Jeanne's equerry, d'Aulon, rode forth on the way to Blois, giving a wide berth to the great English fort called Paris, north of the town, on the Paris road. Before leaving Orleans, Dunois wrote a receipt for six hundred *livres tournois*, lent to him by the people of the town. The money was pay for the garrison and the captains to "serve till the army that came with the Maid, and was gone back to Blois, returns to this city, to raise the siege." Dunois, at least, was not content to have merely provisioned the town, but it was feared that the King's advisers would take no steps to drive away the English. Jeanne knew of Dunois' departure, and, with La Hire and others, says d'Aulon, covered the movement by a demonstration of cavalry in the fields.

On the same Sunday, Jeanne rode through the city accompanied by knights and squires, because the people were so eager to see her that the crowd almost broke in the door of her house. "The folk could not have enough of the sight of her," and they marvelled at her graceful horsemanship. It was no moment for fighting, as most of the leaders were absent, and as the relieving army was far away.

On Monday, May 2, she rode out with a great multitude following her, and reconnoitred the English positions unopposed.

Of May 3 nothing is recorded, except that the garrisons of Montargis, Château-Regnard, and Gien came in, and news was brought of the approach of the army and convoy from Blois. The army was coming by Jeanne's route, on the Orleans side of the river; but some writers think that the convoy and its guard

approached by the other side, as on April 28. Jeanne rode out at dawn with some five hundred combatants, under La Hire, to meet the advancing host, which was unopposed.

Either Talbot, de la Pole, and the other English captains knew that their men were demoralised and terrified by the slim armed figure that with a clear girlish voice bade them begone, or they saw themselves hopelessly outnumbered. They could insult Jeanne in the most ribald terms, but they would not stir from their forts; and Pasquerel led the van, the company of chanting priests, as safely as if he had been reading the lessons in his monastery at Tours. The route which Jeanne had preferred was at least as little exposed to English attack as the other. This is all the more certain if only part of the Blois force went by the Beauce route; the part being weaker than the whole.

The mode of entering Orleans from Blois on the north bank of the Loire was to skirt the forest at the back of the city; the only strong fort which the army passed was that called Paris. From the fort so styled to that of St. Loup, was a great gap in the investing lines, though some suppose that it was covered by a work hidden within the forest. Remains of such a work exist, but it is so remote that it cannot have been an English hold.

The entry into Orleans was effected before dinner, probably before noon. After the Maid and d'Aulon had dined together, Dunois entered. He had news: Fastolf, who defeated the Scots and French at Rouvray, was approaching from Paris, and was already at Janville, a day's march distant, with reinforcements and supplies for the English. The Maid seemed very glad to hear this intelligence. "In God's name, Bastard, I command you to let me know as soon as you hear of Fastolf's arrival. If he passes without my knowledge, I—will have your head!"

"For that fear not," said the gentle Dunois, "for I shall let you have the news as soon as it arrives." Dunois then took his leave.

Then the Maid, who was weary from her ride, lay down beside her hostess on a bed, while d'Aulon, who confesses to having been fatigued, also lay down on a sofa, or *couchette*, in the same room.

Neither he nor the Maid knew that an attack was being organised against St. Loup, an English fort far outside the remotest gate of Orleans. The purpose, some think, was to contain the English garrison in St. Loup, and prevent them from disturbing the arrival of the grain sent by water from Blois.

The Maid had not been informed of this attack, but, says d'Aulon, "she leaped from her sleep with great noise," awakening him. "In God's name," she cried, "my Council has told me that I must go against the English; but I know not whether against their forts, or against Fastolf, who is bringing them supplies." As we shall see, her Voices sometimes woke her, and, in the moment of waking she but partially heard, or but partially understood them. In this case, at all events, they told her what she did not know, that there was fighting to be done. D'Aulon leaped up and began to harness the Maid in her armour as quickly as he might. While putting on her harness he heard voices in the street crying loudly that the English were doing great execution on the French. He armed the Maid, and was buckling his own harness on, when she left the room unnoticed by him.

Here her page, Louis de Coutes, takes up the tale. He says that Jeanne ran downstairs and cried to him, "Ha! *sanglant garçon*, you will not tell me when the blood of France is being spilt? Bring my horse." When de Coutes returned, Jeanne bade him bring her banner, which he handed to her through a window of the upper room. She galloped straight through the town in the direction of the remotest gate, where the noise was loudest, the sparks flying from the stones beneath her horse's shoes as she rode, say eye-witnesses.

D'Aulon followed and overtook her; de Coutes also followed. In the gateway they met citizens bearing a sorely wounded man. "I never see French blood spilt but my hair rises for horror," said the Maid. They galloped through the gateway and found, says d'Aulon, a greater concourse of their party than he had ever seen together. Clearly the attack on St. Loup was no mere diversion, as has been supposed, but was seriously meant.

They reached the fort; Jeanne is said to have forbidden plundering of the church property, left behind when the church was partially destroyed; the French raised a shout on her arrival, and the fort was taken. The losses of the assailants were small; of the English, some hundred and fifty, none escaped death or capture; some were taken who had put on priestly vestments which they found in the steeple of the church of St. Loup. Jeanne preserved their lives: "We must take nothing from churchmen," she said, helping mercy by mirth, for the prisoners were "hooded" but not "monks."

Talbot meanwhile had collected a force out of his holds and was moving to the rescue by a long circuitous route; but he now saw that all was over. A troop of six hundred rode out of Orleans to meet him, and he withdrew. Jeanne wept for the slain, who had died without the rites of the Church, and, later, confessed herself to Pasquerel.

Returning victorious, after burning the woodwork of St. Loup, the Maid, according to Pasquerel her confessor, said that the siege would be raised within five days, but that she would not fight next day, as it was the Feast of the Ascension. She gave orders that none on that day should fight till he had confessed, and that they should not permit women of ill fame to accompany them. Though there was no fighting, Jeanne again summoned the English to withdraw. She went to the end of the intact part of the bridge, where the people of Orleans had erected a fort, and called across the water to the English in the Tourelles, telling them that it was God's will that they should go. They mocked her, and she determined to pay them a visit. Her confessor says that she dictated a letter, in the usual terms, ending, "This is the third and last time that I write to you. I would have sent my letter in more honourable fashion" (the note was attached to an arrow, and shot across from the bridge fort of Orleans), "but you keep my herald, Guienne. Return him, and I will return the prisoners taken at St. Loup."

The English picked up the arrow with the note bound to it,

and shouted, "News from the harlot of the Armagnacs!" Hearing this insult Jeanne wept, calling the King of Heaven to her aid. But she was comforted and dried her tears, "because, as she said, she had tidings from her Lord." She then bade Pasquerel call her early next day, she would confess at dawn.

Though there was no fighting on the day of the Ascension (May 5), a council of war was held at the house of the Chancellor of Orleans, Cousinot. Among the leaders present was Sir Hugh Kennedy, called in Scotland, "Hugh come with the penny." It was decided to take huge wooden shields and wooden shelters, next day, and assault the English forts on the Orleans side of the river, especially the great Fort St. Laurent. This movement would bring across the English on the farther shore to aid their comrades on the Orleans side of the water. This, however, was to be a mere feint; as soon as the English from the farther side had crossed, the French tacticians would attack the remnant left on guard at St. Jean le Blanc, the Augustins, and the boulevard or outwork of the bridge-head fort, the Tourelles. Ambroise Loré was then sent by the nobles to bring the Maid, who, lest she should reveal the secret of the feint, was only told that they meant to attack St. Laurent, the great fort close to Jeanne's house, on the Orleans side of the Loire. The Chancellor, Cousinot, himself gave her the misleading information.

"Tell me what you have really decided," said Jeanne, "I will keep a greater secret than *that*." She walked up and down the room, refusing to be seated.

"Be not angry, Jeanne," said Dunois, "we cannot tell you everything at once. What the Chancellor has told you is what we have decided on, but—," and then he explained the feint, and the true point of attack. Then she was content; but next day the feint on St. Laurent was not made.

Dunois and the tacticians had apparently intended the townsfolk of Orleans to sally forth against St. Laurent with the Maid's standard flying, and under cover of the guns of the city wall and towers. The English would also sally out of their fort,

would give a hurrah; the burgesses would retreat to the protection of their artillery, and the English would not pursue them home.

This would have been the usual *escarmouche grand et terrible.* Three or four unlucky combatants might be hit by a splinter of a stone cannon-ball, or by a crossbow bolt. One or two, in running away, might fall into a well, and be killed by the enemy, as happened now and again. "Very great loss" (in one of these skirmishes) was the loss of nine prisoners by the English.

During this diversion the more regular forces, under the knights, would be attacking the forts beyond the river. But Jeanne had no desire to lead townsfolk who would not press an attack home: she was the most tenacious of leaders; she never gave way (unless she were carried off, wounded, at nightfall) till she had won the position she attacked. The townsfolk, again, desired to fight under her standard. Therefore the leaders could not carry out their tactics; next day no feint was attempted.

The leaders, it is true, according to one witness, meant to execute their plan. They stationed men-at-arms at the Burgundy gate, the gate most remote from the Regnart gate (which was nearest St. Laurent), and was adjacent to the port from which the knights meant to cross the river. De Gaucourt commanded these men-at-arms, and tried to check the outrush of the townsfolk, who were following the standard of the Maid. He found that his life was in danger. Jeanne said to him, "You are an evil man! Whether with or without your leave, the men-at-arms will come, and will be victorious as before."[1]

Thus the feint was omitted, though there is no reason to suspect Jeanne of having betrayed the military secret. She was going to take part in the genuine attack, her way was by the Burgundy gate, and the multitude followed her standard. Probably they also knew the secret, though not through Jeanne. Burgesses had been at the council of war, we are informed, and

[1] The scene is now placed by M. Wallon and M. Lefévre-Pontalis not on May 6, but on May 7, on the morning of the decisive victory. I am not able to acquiesce; see the next chapter.

naturally burgesses would tell their wives the secret, — in the strictest confidence,—so the townsfolk were determined to be in the serious fighting. If Jeanne led them, which is not certain, they did not do her much credit on this occasion.

The mode of crossing was from the water gate, the Tour Neuve, to the Ile des Toiles, from which a bridge of two boats enabled them to step on to the farther bank, under the guns of the English fort of St. Jean le Blanc. But the English commander in the bridge-head fort, the Tourelles, bade his men evacuate St. Jean le Blanc as soon as he perceived that the French were launching their boats; and he concentrated his forces in the work raised on the ruins of the Augustinian monastery (*Les Augustins*). The Augustin fort protected the boulevard or outwork of the Tourelles on the bridge-head, and the Tourelles could not be attacked till the Augustins was won.

We have a contemporary chronicle which avers that the Maid, while most of the French attacking force was delayed in the Ile des Toiles, rushed with a small company, probably of townsfolk, to the Augustins, and planted her standard at the palisade. But a cry arose that the English from Fort St. Privé (directly opposite Fort St. Laurent) were coming up, whereon the enthusiasts with the Maid fled helter-skelter back to the island, doubtless throwing the force which was crossing from the island by the boat bridge into utter confusion. If this be true, the emotions of the disappointed French tacticians may be imagined: the townsfolk, as they expected, had ruined their plan. The Maid retired slowly, covering the retreat of her fugitives, while the English rushed out, showering arrows and insults on "the Milkmaid of the Armagnacs."

"Suddenly she turned at bay, and, few as were the men with her, she faced the English, and advanced on them swiftly, with standard displayed. Then fled the English shamefully, and the beaten French came back and chased them into their works. The Maid planted her standard under the fort of the Augustins, in the moat, and then came up the Maréchal de Rais, while the French arrived in great numbers," and the fort was taken.

All this is undeniably dramatic; but another account, not less dramatic, and more trustworthy, is given by Jeanne's equerry, d'Aulon, who himself was in the front of the battle. The first of the French who landed on the bank of the river—foot soldiers apparently, *without* Jeanne, who had to bring her horse across the bridge of boats—found St. Jean le Blanc undefended, marched on to Les Augustins, saw that they could do nothing there, and were returning to the island ingloriously. At this moment the Maid and La Hire brought their horses across by boat, and mounted, lance in hand. Seeing the English rushing out of the Augustins to fall on the townsfolk in the disorder of struggling for footing on the bridge of boats, they laid their lances in rest, charged the English, and drove them back into their fortress. The French who now came up were being arrayed by d'Aulon and others, among them was a gallant Spaniard, Alphonzo de Partada; when a brave man of their company broke the line and was rushing forward. D'Aulon bade him keep his place in front of the column; the man said that he would do as he pleased. Alphonzo answered that as brave men as he were obeying orders. The other replied with a sneer; Alphonzo retorted. Both men, to prove their valour, caught each other by the hand, rushed forward at their best speed, and reached the palisade. In the narrow entry, disdaining to close the gate, stood a gigantic Englishman, defending the strait with such sword blows that the assailants could not pass. D'Aulon caught sight of that famous marksman, Maître Jean of the handgun, and bade him aim at the Englishman. At Jean's first shot the champion fell dead. Alphonzo and his rival then rushed in; other Frenchmen followed, the work was assailed on every side, sword and axe were plied, and—the English did not forestall the feat of Hougoumont. The defenders were slain or taken, except some who fled into the boulevard or outwork of the Tourelles. As for Jeanne, another eye-witness saw her in the thick of the fight, and heard her cry, "In God's name, forward, forward boldly."

The nobles who came up and helped to check the flight of the French, and retrieve the day, were de Gaucourt himself, and

Archambaud de Villars, captain of Montargis and seneschal of Beaucaire, a post to which d'Aulon later succeeded. Dunois seems to have been on guard in Orleans. Many of the troops bivouacked on the scene of their victory, holding the Augustins in case the English should attempt to recover it by a night assault. Wine and food were brought in boats from Orleans to the occupants of the taken fort. D'Aulon and another witness say that Jeanne remained with them, but seem to confuse her wish to do so with what she actually did.

The Maid was weary, and went home; she had been wounded in the foot by a chausse-trape (calthrop). Though the day was Friday, when she was wont to fast, she felt it necessary to take supper. She was anxiously afraid lest the English should make a night attack on the forces left at the farther side of the river, on the weary revellers. This they certainly ought to have done, and she understood war well enough to know it. Being anxious, she was early astir on the morning of May 7. "Rise with the dawn to-morrow, and you will do even better than to-day," she said to her people. "Keep close by me; because to-morrow I will have much to do, more than ever I had, and blood will flow from my body, above my breast."

So says Pasquerel, who was present. We know that the Maid had before April 22 predicted her wound by an arrow, and that it would not be mortal, for the prophecy was recorded on April 22. Pasquerel, of course, may have been under an error of memory when he makes her, on May 6, name the day and place of the wound. On July 9, 1429, a letter from Bruges reports that Jeanne predicted her wound, and that it would not be dangerous, to the leaders on the day when it really occurred, May 7. An Orleans lawyer gave evidence that the Maid predicted the capture of the Tourelles, her return by the bridge, though several arches were broken down, and her wound under the Tourelles. Hurt in the foot, weary, and feverish, she must have slept ill that night: next day's dawn brought her crowning victory.

CHAPTER XII

THE TAKING OF THE TOURELLES

THE tactics of the English after Jeanne's arrival in Orleans are unintelligible. They were expecting, as has been seen, a reinforcement from Paris, led by the resolute Fastolf, the victor of Rouvray, and may have meant to risk nothing before his arrival. Meanwhile they had lost, with the fall of St. Loup, their command of the upper Loire. On May 6 they lost, with the Augustins and St. Jean le Blanc, their command of the French ferry from Orleans to the farther bank. Though the English possessed a perfectly safe means of crossing, lower down the stream, from their headquarters in the fort of St. Laurent to their fort on the Isle Charlemagne, whence they could land under the protection of Fort St. Privé, they did not, on May 6, send a man to reinforce the Tourelles, the boulevard, and the Augustins. Yet they must have seen that the French attack on the Augustins was no diversion, no feint to cover a return across the stream and a real assault on St. Laurent.

About the numbers engaged on both sides, on May 6, we have no valid knowledge. A contemporary German estimate of the army of relief, at 3000 men, confirmed by the *Chronique de Tournai*, is most probably near the truth. To these must be added the garrison of Orleans and the town militia.

The estimates of the whole English effective vary from 10,000 without the Burgundians, who had withdrawn (Jollois), to from 5000 to 3500 in round numbers (Molandon and Beaucorps, also Jarry). The former authors, "in the absence of more precise and harmonious documents than we possess, hold that we must

suppose the English to have had an effective force equivalent to the desired result, and the extent and population of Orleans."

The last proposition may be doubted, especially when we remember Bedford's complaint at the end of March, that many had deserted, and his demand for some fifteen hundred lancers and archers from England. The English, contrary to Bedford's judgment, had risked their enterprise on their prestige, on the helpless distracted Council of the Dauphin, and on the luck of the English army. The Maid had steeled the Council for an hour; had restored the confidence of the French fighting men; had been nobly backed by Dunois, La Hire, de Rais, de Gaucourt, and the townsfolk; had turned the luck, and, it is probable, had terrified and demoralised the rank and file of Talbot and Suffolk, who dared not face "the witch," the Milkmaid of the Armagnacs. A panic was possible. It may seem astonishing to us that the English generals, with a secure crossing over the river, did not make a night attack on the wearied French who were bivouacking at the Augustins, in the darkness between sunset of May 6 and the dawn of May 7. The fear that they might do so, as we saw, caused the greatest anxiety to the Maid, who may have been no strategist, but who possessed abundant common sense.

We hear of no night attacks during the whole siege, though they were commonly practised by Bruce and Randolph in the Scottish War of Independence, and, earlier than 1429, by La Hire. Far from making such an assault, Talbot, on May 6, either commanded or permitted his garrison at Fort St. Privé (which secured his power of crossing the river) to burn the work and retire in boats, under cloud of night, to his headquarters at St. Laurent. It was therefore plain to the French that Talbot on May 7, was to abandon his garrisons on the bridge-head fort —the Tourelles, and its strong boulevard—to themselves and to their fate.

The bridge-head forts, the Tourelles, were very strong, and were held by some 600 of the pick of the English army, under de Moleyns, Poynings, and Glasdale. Behind their moats and

walls they should have been able to resist a force of 3000 French. But they were not to be supported, and they knew it. What is more, Talbot was to relieve them by no diversion, no demonstration even, in the way of attack on the gates and walls of Orleans, so as to recall the French from their enterprise. In such a diversion his superstitious men would not have been obliged to face the Witch and Milkmaid of the Armagnacs, who was on the farther shore. "If Talbot had seen, if Talbot had chosen, he might have taken Orleans," says a French historian. But Talbot could not help seeing, from the walls of St. Laurent, all that was being done. As will presently appear, what he did see, from dawn to sunset, was simply the complete success of the defence by his garrison at the bridge-head. The sudden change, the total defeat, in the deepening twilight, was the work of the Maid, the work of ten minutes. Talbot was fated to hear the French trumpets sound the recall, to see the French retreat begin, and then the Tourelles in flames.

Even so, we cannot understand Talbot's failure to make, on May 7, at least a demonstration against the St. Regnart gate of Orleans; for Talbot, as will soon be seen, was brave even to rashness.

The nature of the task that now fell to the French must be clearly understood. They had first to capture, on the opposite bank of the Loire, on solid land, the boulevard or outwork protecting the Tourelles, which was a stone fort of two towers on an arch of the bridge. The Tourelles themselves were protected from assault on the Orleans side by the destruction of an arch of the bridge, and by an outwork commanding the gap. The boulevard was separated from the Tourelles by another breach or gap through which flowed a stream of the river. This gap was crossed by a drawbridge; the defenders of the boulevard, if too hard pressed, could rush across, retire into the Tourelles, raise the drawbridge, and defy the enemy. Their position now would be unenviable, they would find themselves blockaded in the Tourelles, till Talbot, if reinforced by Fastolf, could deal a decisive blow at the French on either side of the Loire.

The boulevard itself appears to have had high walls, for it had to be attacked with scaling-ladders, and it was surrounded by a deep fosse. The walls, while the boulevard was in possession of the French, in October 1428, were made of earth and faggots. On October 21, 1428, the English had lost 240 men killed, in an unsuccessful attempt to take this work. On October 22 the English had mined it, and therefore, on October 23, the French abandoned the position. The English, when they acquired this all-important boulevard, strengthened it considerably. A place strong enough to cause the loss of 240 men slain, without being taken, was manifestly apt to give the Maid "much to do, more than I ever had yet," as she said.

At sunrise on May 7, Jeanne heard Mass. It is said by a later chronicler that the French leaders were unwilling to risk an attack, and that she set forth against their will. This is very dubious. Before Jeanne set out a man brought her a sea-trout for breakfast (*une alose*), whereon Jeanne said to her host, Boucher, "Keep it for supper; for I will bring you a *Godon*, later, and will come back by the bridge," which was broken down. (Littré explains *alose* as "a fish which is good to eat, and comes up the river in spring." This appears to indicate a sea-trout or shad, for a bull trout is not "good to eat.") The townsfolk all day were making preparations for bridging the broken arches and assaulting the Tourelles. The knights and the Maid crossed the water by boat. There were Thibault de Termes (a witness in 1450–1456); Dunois and de Gaucourt; de Villars, old in arms; La Hire, Poton de Saintrailles, Florent d'Illiers, and many other captains. It is hard to believe that they had tried to stop the enterprise; if so, the more the glory of the Maid. All the men who could be spared from the task of keeping the town safe against an attack by Talbot must have been present. But that task must have kept a large proportion of combatants in Orleans; for, the garrison of the Tourelles consisting of 600 men, according to a contemporary bulletin of the Dauphin (May 9–10), Talbot can scarcely have had less than 2500 men with whom to storm the city.

The assailants had an abundant supply of guns of all calibres, with other engines, arrows, and the accustomed huge shields and movable wooden shelters to protect small advancing parties. They must have been a motley host, men-at-arms, *routiers* of the robbing companies, foreign mercenaries like Alphonzo de Partada, townsfolk, apprentices with clubs and bows, crossbow men, Scots, whether men-at-arms under Kennedy, or the wild plaided mountaineers from the Lennox, unkempt, shaggy-bearded warriors with axe and bow, as shown in a contemporary work of art.

Within the English forts, under de Moleyns, Poynings, Glasdale, Gifford, and other leaders, were 600 English yeomen, without a thought of surrender. There were John Reid from Redesdale, William Arnold, Bill Martin, Walter Parker, Matthew Thornton, William Vaughan, John Burford, Patrick Hall, Thomas Sand, John Langham, Thomas Jolly, George Ludlow, Black Henry, Davy Johnson, Dick Hawke, Geoffrey Blackwell, tough customers, as they were to prove themselves on this the latest day that dawned for most of them. They, too, were well equipped on all points: they must have had the gun *Passe Volant* of the Fort St. Jean le Blanc, which cast stone balls of eighty pounds weight into Orleans across the river. Perhaps this antique Long Tom was rather of the nature of a mortar for lobbing heavy balls high to the distance of 500 yards, than a gun capable of a low trajectory, and of sweeping the ranks of the French. In any case, the English wanted not for guns, bows, arrows, and determined courage.

The attack began early in the morning, each company under the displayed standard of its captain. The assault was made from every side; doubtless with supporting companies, carrying their scaling-ladders. "And well the English fought; for the French were scaling at once in various places, in thick swarms, attacking on the highest parts of their walls, with such hardihood and valour, that to see them you would have thought they deemed themselves immortal. But the English drove them back many times, and tumbled them from high to low; fighting with bowshot and gun-

shot, with axes, lances, bills, and leaden maces, and even with their fists, so that there was some loss in killed and wounded." Ladders were rising, men were climbing them; the ladders were overthrown, or the climbers were shot, or smitten, or grappled with and dashed into the fosse; while the air whirred to the flight of arrows and bolts, and the smoke rose sulphurous from the mouths of guns.

The standard of the Maid floated hard by the wall, till, about noonday, a bolt or arrow pierced her shoulder-plate as she climbed the first scaling-ladder, and the point passed clean through armour and body, standing out a hand's-breadth behind. She shrank and wept, says her confessor; she refused to have a song to stay the blood sung over the wound; refused to be "charmed" as the hurt of Odysseus—the gash that the wild boar drove with his tusk in the glade of Parnassus—was charmed by a song of healing. Dunois declares that she ceased not to fight, and took no medicament, though the assaults continued till the eighth hour of evening. It is more probable that, as Pasquerel her confessor says, she suffered her wound to be dressed with olive oil, and confessed herself to him.

The English must have seen that the Maid was stricken, and was for awhile out of action; must have believed that they, having drawn her blood, had spoiled her witchcraft; for that is still a rural superstition, just as the magical power of stanching blood by muttered words still prevails in Glasdale's own country. Probably her place in the front rank was not long empty. There she stood under her banner and cried on her French and Scots; but they were weary, and the sun fell, and men who had said that "in a month that fort could scarce be taken," lost heart as the lights of Orleans began to reflect themselves in the silvery waters of the Loire. "The place, to all men of the sword, seemed impregnable," says Percéval de Cagny. "Doubt not, the place is ours," cried the clear girlish voice. But Dunois "held that there was no hope of victory this day"; he bade sound the recall, and gave orders to withdraw across the river to the city. Three or four general assaults had been given, says Dunois: the third, we

learn from *Le Jouvencel*, was usually the fiercest and the last. "But then the Maid came to me, and asked me to wait yet a little while. Then she mounted her horse, and went alone into a vineyard, some way from the throng of men, and in that vineyard she abode in prayer for about half a quarter of an hour. Then she came back, and straightway took her standard into her hands and planted it on the edge of the fosse"; so says Dunois. The English, seeing the wounded Witch again where she had stood from early morning, "shuddered, and fear fell upon them," says Dunois. His language is Homeric.

The details of the result are given by the Maid's equerry, d'Aulon. The French trumpets had actually sounded the recall, —a glad note in the ears of the resolute English. As the French were retreating, the standard-bearer of the Maid (who herself had retired to pray), still, though weary and outworn, was holding her flag aloft in front of the boulevard. Now he handed it to be carried in the retiral by a Basque of the command of de Villars. D'Aulon knew the Basque, and he also feared that the retreat might end in disaster (*doubtoit que à l'occasion de la retraicte mal ne s'ensuivist*).

An English sally might convert retreat into rout: the standard of the Maid might be taken. D'Aulon reckoned that if the standard were brought again to the front, "the men-at-arms, for the great affection they bore to it, might storm the boulevard." Dunois, too, had now countermanded the order to retreat, at the request of the Maid. D'Aulon said to the Basque, "If I dismount and go forward to the foot of the wall, will you follow me?"

"I will," said the Basque.

D'Aulon sprang from his saddle, held up his shield against the shower of arrows, and leaped into the ditch, supposing that the Basque was following him. The Maid at this moment saw her standard in the hands of the Basque, who also had gone down into the ditch. She seems not to have recognised his purpose. She thought that her standard was lost, or was being betrayed, and seized the end of the floating flag.

"Ha! my standard! my standard!" she cried, and she so shook the flag that it waved wildly like a signal for instant onset. The men-at-arms conceived it to be such a signal, and gathered for attack.

"Ha! Basque, is this what you promised me?" cried d'Aulon. Thereon the Basque tore the flag from the hands of the Maid, ran through the ditch, and stood beside d'Aulon, close to the enemy's wall. By this time her whole company of those who loved her had rallied and were round her.

"Watch!" said Jeanne to a knight at her side, "Watch till the tail of my standard touches the wall!"

A few moments passed. "Jeanne, the flag touches the wall!"

"Then enter, all is yours!"

Then, heedless of arrows and bullets, the multitude rushed *en masse* on the wall; every scaling-ladder was thronged, they reached the crest of the fort, they leaped or tumbled into the work; swords and axes rose and fell; "never had living men seen such an onslaught." The English ammunition was exhausted, or time failed them to load the guns; the bolts and arrows were expended; the yeomen thrust with lances, hacked with their bills, smote with their maces, even with their fists; threw down great stones; there was a din of steel blades on steel armour, but at last the English turned and fled to the drawbridge that enabled them to cross towards the stone fort of the Tourelles.

But the drawbridge was cracking under their feet, it was enveloped in an evil stench and smoke; tongues of flame licked it, and shot up through the planks; while the stone bullets of the guns of Orleans lighted on roof and walls of the Tourelles, and splashed in the water of the Loire.

Jeanne saw the fire and the peril, and had compassion on the brave, brutal Glasdale who had threatened and insulted her.

"Glasdale," she cried, "Glasdale! Yield thee, yield thee to the King of Heaven! You called me harlot, but I have great pity on your soul and the souls of your company!"

So says Pasquerel, who was present. In her pity and courtesy

the Maid bade her insulter yield himself, not to her or to any knight, but to the King of Heaven.

But how had the drawbridge been fired?

The knights in Orleans and the people had constructed a fireship, and loaded it with masses of all that was greasy, inflammable, and of evil savour; had laid on the bulk many greased and tarry flags; had lighted them, and towed the flaming barque under the wooden drawbridge.

Yet the greater part of the surviving defenders of the English boulevard dashed through the smoke into the Tourelles, while Glasdale, de Moleyns, and a few other English knights and gentlemen stood at bay, protecting the retreat, and holding the drawbridge with axe and sword. But the fugitives had scarcely reached the Tourelles when they found themselves assailed in a new quarter—from the front, from Orleans!

Whoever watched the fight now saw men from the Orleans side crossing the vacant space of air—the gap whence two arches had been broken—as it were by miracle. In the smoke and the dusk their support was hardly visible. The Orleans people had found an old *gouttière*, long, but not long enough to cross the gap above the stream. A carpenter had fixed to it a beam, supported by stays, and so enabled its further extremity to rest on the intact arch of the Tourelles. Across this "Brig of Dread" walked Nicole de Giresme, the Prior of the Knights of Malta, other men-at-arms following him in single file. The impregnable Tourelles were thus assaulted on both sides; and when Glasdale, Poynings, de Moleyns, and the rest of the little rearguard leaped on to the smouldering drawbridge to cross into the fort, the bridge broke beneath their mailed feet, and they fell into the stream. Armed *cap-à-pie* as they were, the weight of their armour drew them down: steel, fire, water had conspired against them. Jeanne saw this last horror of the fight; she knelt, weeping and praying for the souls of her enemies and insulters.

The practical knights beside her lamented that they had lost great ransoms. There was no other drawback to the triumph

of the French; in that night of terror not one of the stout defenders of the boulevard and the Tourelles escaped, all were slain, drowned, or taken and held to ransom.

The joy bells of Orleans sounded across the dark Loire, lit with the red flames, and the Maid, as d'Aulon had heard her prophesy, returned by the bridge.

She had kept her word, she had shown her sign, Orleans was delivered, and the tide of English arms never again surged so far as the city of St. Aignan. The victory, her companions in arms attest, was all her own. They had despaired, they were in retreat, when she, bitterly wounded as she was, recalled them to the charge. Within less than a week of her first day under fire, the girl of seventeen had done what Wolfe did on the heights of Abraham, what Bruce did at Bannockburn, she had gained one of the "fifteen decisive battles" of the world.

CHAPTER XIII

AFTER ORLEANS

On entering Orleans the French gave praise to God in all the churches of the city. The people had always a lively sense of what they owed to their patron saints, St. Aignan and St. Euverte, in whose honour they had made many processions. Myths about their action appear late in the chroniclers. The *Journal du Siège*, a patchwork finished thirty years later than the events, only says, on the report of an English prisoner, that the defenders of the boulevard and the Tourelles saw themselves "assailed by a marvellous number of men, as if the whole world were there assembled." General Foy had the same false impression of overwhelming numbers on the ridge of Busaco. The author of the *Journal* credits St. Aignan and St. Euverte with the production of this miraculous impression, so natural when the whole French force swarmed up the scalding-ladders. A still later author, probably a very aged survivor of 1429, improves the tale. "One of the English said that, during the siege, he saw two prelates in pontifical habits coming and going *par sus* the walls of Orleans," though unless he saw the Archbishop of Reims, and Kirkmichael, Bishop of Orleans, taking a Sunday stroll together in February, he was probably mistaken. That "two bishops, in a blaze of light, were seen floating over the Tourelles at the moment of the assault," is averred, but I can find no reference to this romantic legend earlier than 1908.

The religious service ended, Jeanne went to the house of Boucher, her host, where her wound was tended by a surgeon; and she took a slight supper, four or five slips of bread soaked

in weak wine and water: she had not eaten or drunk since dawn, says Dunois. Her great temperance and perfect health alone can account for the absence of any ill effects from a wound caused by the perforation of her body by a bolt or arrow. Her wound was healed within a fortnight, so she told her judges. The French loss she stated at over a hundred. We may note the health of the Maid's constitution, when a distinguished Professor speaks, as to Jeanne, of an alleged symptom of "insufficiency of physical development found in most hysterical patients" (*neuropathes*).

She had not a long night's rest. "In the dawn the English came out of their tents and arrayed themselves in order of battle. Thereon the Maid rose from bed, and for all armour wore a coat of mail" (*jaseran*), says Dunois: she could not bear her heavy plate armour. The English had collected their prisoners and all the property that they could carry, leaving their sick, their heavy guns, ammunition, *pavois* (huge shields), and their provisions.

Talbot's men, unencumbered, and with banners displayed, in excellent order of battle, challenged the French to fight in fair field. The French also, with the Maid and most of their daring leaders, the Marshals, La Hire, Saintrailles, and Florent d'Illiers, led out and marshalled their troops. For an hour the armies confronted each other. A citizen of Orleans, in 1429 a man of twenty-five, says that Jeanne was unwilling to fight because the day was Sunday. Yet at Paris she showed that she thought "the better the day, the better the deed." A more rigid Sabbatarian than she, a Scottish preacher, when Montrose, at Tippermuir, on a Sunday, offered a day's truce, urged the Covenanters to refuse it, and to do the Lord's work on the Lord's day. The results were as usual when the Covenanters met Montrose!

Jeanne's conduct, according to the Orleans witness, was peculiar. She sent for a portable altar and the necessary ecclesiastical vestments. Two Masses were said, the whole army devoutly worshiping. Then Jeanne asked those about her whether the English were facing them. "No, the English are turned towards Meun."

"Let them go! Our Lord does not wish us to fight them to-day you will have them another time." They had them presently, in a crushing defeat. "The Maid," says Dunois briefly, "willed that none should attack the English." Her motive is unknown; did she wish to spare bloodshed, or did she doubt (she who rarely doubted) that the English bowmen, in fair field, might win, as they had done in many a battle? The English doubtless had dismounted and formed in line, with their archers *en potence*, at right angles to either wing. Many a time the French and the Scots had charged the English in this formation, only to be rolled up in heaps of slain, a lance length in height, as at Dupplin, Halidon Hill, and Agincourt. The French captains by long experience had become more wary, and doubtless appreciated the motives of the Maid in refusing battle. The English retired in good order and unopposed.

Later some cavalry leaders, La Hire and Ambroise de Loiré, with a hundred lances, followed the retreating host for three leagues, reconnoitring, and then returned to Orleans. Suffolk retired to Jargeau; Scales, Talbot, and others to Meun and Beaugency and other towns on the Loire near Orleans. It is said that when Bedford heard the evil news he went from Paris, as if he dreaded the populace, to Vincennes and its castle, and called in forces from all quarters, with small success; for the French in the conquered provinces began to hate, despise, and desert the English. These processes moved, however, but tardily.

At Orleans the townsfolk looted the English works, and made merry over the wine and other spoils, while the devout listened to sermons and marched in processions. This was the beginning of the great Orleans festival of the Eighth of May.

The English army should have had one advantage, even after a disaster, over that of France. The men, "indentured" for a very short period of service, say six months, could not easily desert their colours in a hostile country. As we have seen, they did manage to desert, so Bedford testifies, during the siege; but now their safety lay in keeping together behind the walls and towers

of Jargeau, Meun, Janville, Beaugency, and other towns captured in autumn 1428. But, after the raising of the siege of Orleans, the French garrisons of Châteaudun and several other places departed to their posts; the army of relief in part broke up; there were scant supplies, scant money to pay the men, and on May 10 the Maid, de Rais, and other leaders went to see the Dauphin. There was, however, we shall find, an attempt to follow up the victory.

At Tours the Dauphin welcomed the Maid, and sent despatches with official news of the victory to his good towns. In the letter to Narbonne we see fresh intelligence added as messengers come in with later tidings, first of St. Loup; then of the Augustins, where the old standard of the renowned Chandos was captured; then of the taking of the Tourelles and the raising of the siege. The only leader chosen for mention in the gazette is the Maid, "who was personally present in action in all these affairs." "Her part was not that of a captain, she held no command of any description," says one of her critics, who also remarks that she was "Captain of the Commune," that she was "the only power in the city"; that at St. Loup she rallied and led the forces; that "the moment she appeared in the field, she was the chief, because she was the best"; that "she did everything, because without her nothing would have been done"; while she persuaded Dunois to permit the last charge on the boulevard of the Tourelles, and, as commander-in-chief, on May 8 refused battle though many leaders desired to fight.

As all these are well-established facts, it is less than logical to grudge the Maid her mention in what we may call the gazette of the victory, and the title of a leader, unofficial.

Meanwhile the professional captains in war were not quite so fortunate in her absence as in her presence. Possibly Jeanne's wounds in the foot and through the shoulder, not healed till a fortnight had passed, incapacitated her from joining in the expedition against Jargeau, led by Dunois, the Maréchal de Boussac, and Saintrailles, at the head of many knights, squires, and civic details from Bourges, Tours, Blois, and other towns.

This large force attacked Jargeau, twelve miles east of Orleans, just after May 10 or May 11, and fought for three or four hours, but could do nothing, though the English commander of the town, Henry Bisset, was killed. The moat, fed by the Loire, which was high, could not be crossed: the besiegers, professionally led as they were, had not brought the usual appliances for filling up or ferrying across a deep moat. It appears from the military romance, *Le Jouvencel*, that leathern boats were in use, and were transported on the backs of horses. I know no other example of this device, which may have been evolved long after 1429.

The news of the English defeats at Orleans was, naturally, a source of pleasure to the Duke of Burgundy, their ally. "It is his interest that the English, who are so powerful, should be a little beaten. . . . If the Duke of Burgundy chose, were it but by a word, to aid the Dauphin's party, there would not be a fighting Englishman in the country by Midsummer"; so says an Italian news-writer resident in Bruges. His letter must be of about May 18. He adds that before the victory of the Maid, "prophecies were found at Paris and elsewhere" announcing success to the Dauphin; and he goes on to give his version of the advent of the Maid. In the Middle Ages, when any event of note occurred, or was anticipated, people bethought them of the popular predictions of Merlin, current in folklore and in manuscripts, remembered the Virgin prophecy of Marie d'Avignon, and some one framed a chronogram, which was attributed, as prophetic, to Bede. The Merlin prophecies were forced into harmony with the new situations; they were not new prophecies forged by fraudulent priests who used the Maid as their puppet. That is merely the fallacy of a recent historian of Jeanne d'Arc. When Richard II was taken prisoner by Bolingbroke (1399), an old English knight told Jean Creton, the chronicler, that Merlin and Bede predicted the events. The Middle Ages confused the heathen *sennachie* with the Christian historian.

Nevertheless the old saws and the new chronogram helped to spread the renown of the Maid, and to increase the hopes of the enemies of England. If we may believe a German contemporary, Eberhard Windecke, treasurer of the Emperor Sigismund, and a chronicler who was sometimes well informed, a pretty incident occurred when the Maid, standard in hand, met the Dauphin as she rode into Tours. "The Maid bowed to her saddle-bow (*so sehr sie könnte*), and the King bade her sit erect: it was thought he would have liked to kiss her, so glad he was." No Stuart prince would have been so bashful!

He might have been encouraged to greater enterprises than a kiss by the sensible and sagacious approval which the great clerk, Jean Gerson, then in his last days, bestowed upon the Maid. Even already many evil things were said of her garrulity (she was rather taciturn), of her not being wholly serious; of her trickery; but, says Gerson, "we cannot be responsible for what people choose to say." Belief in her is not an Article of Faith, any more than belief in the legends of certain early Saints (such as her own St. Catherine and St. Margaret, we may add) is matter of faith. The Maid and other leaders must not abandon the dictates of ordinary human prudence. Suppose that she is not invariably successful, it must not be inferred that her victories were not of God but of an Evil Spirit, but that her failure too is of God's decreeing. The wearing of male dress is defended and approved of; in short, at every point Gerson anticipates and contradicts the verdict of her hostile judges at Rouen.

Not less encouraging than the opinion of Gerson was that of Jacques Gélu, Archbishop of Embrun. It is difficult, he says, to take the Apostle's advice and "try all spirits." "By their fruits shall we know them." The fruits of Jeanne's inspirations were French successes and English defeats. To a divine and legist of the Dauphin's party, these fruits must seem excellent; to the divines and legists of Henry VI they must seem apples of Sodom, and on that ground they condemned her, while Gerson

and Gélu approved of her. All the virtues and piety of the Maid must, to the Anglo-Burgundian Doctors, seem hypocrisy. Gélu, on the other hand, decided that Jeanne was to be obeyed as the messenger or angel of God, as far especially as her mission was concerned. "We piously believe her to be the Angel of the armies of the Lord."

Probably Jeanne became acquainted with this opinion of the archbishop. This is worth remembering, because, at her trial, she ventured, for the purpose of concealing the King's secret, to narrate a transparent allegory, or parable, about an angel who brought a crown to the Dauphin. She herself was the angel of the allegory; her warrant was the archbishop's phrase, "*Puella, quam angelum Domini exercituun esse pie credimus.*" The archbishop said, finally, that human wisdom must exercise itself in matters of military finance, artillery, bridges, scaling-ladders, and so forth, but in extraordinary enterprises the Maid must be first and chiefly consulted.

The news of "the right glorious Pucelle" soon reached Rome, where a historian, obviously French, added a note on her to his own copy of his Latin chronicle, *Breviarium Historiale.* He says that he would rather pass over Jeanne's feats in war than write inexactly; but he represents her force as a handful and the English army as innumerable. *C'est là le miracle.* He gives the age of the Maid correctly at seventeen years. She seeks no worldly advantage; and the money which she receives, she gives away. "She is not addicted to divination, as the envious declare." Her miracles are genuine, for they are useful, and tend to exalt the faith and to improve morals. Her cause is just; she made the Dauphin, by a legal deed, surrender his realm into the hands of God, his superior. "You are now," she said, "the poorest knight in your kingdom." As it happens, Charles was not yet a knight.

For a while Jeanne was consulted and accepted, and all went well for her cause till she was distrusted and set aside. The wisdom of Gerson and Gélu was thrown away on the Dauphin, the tool of

the advisers who happened to have him in their hands at any moment. Day by day her allotted year was wasted. As far as we can see, military reasons demanded the instant use of the enthusiasm which she had aroused. Probably it was not possible to advance at once on Paris before the English recovered from the shock of Orleans, before they were reinforced. Nobody is known to have suggested these tactics. The Maid's plan was Orleans first, then Reims, then Paris. She had plenty of time for her task, if she could have roused the King by the sign given at Orleans.

An Italian letter of July, from Avignon, declared that Jeanne had entered Rouen on June 23, and that the Dauphin had peacefully occupied Paris on June 24, and proclaimed a general amnesty! The foolish report shows what was expected.

Meanwhile the Dauphin dawdled, first at Tours, then at Loches, and the early days of June had come before anything was attempted. Dunois and the Maid together visited the Dauphin at Loches. She was not of the Privy Council. Dunois says that one day, when the Dauphin was in council with Christopher Harcourt, Machet his confessor, Robert le Macon (Seigneur de Trèves in Anjou, an old man), and with Dunois himself, the Maid knocked at the door, entered, knelt, and, in the old Greek fashion of suppliants, embraced the knees of the Dauphin. She used the same mode of approach to her Saints. "Noble Dauphin," she said, "hold not such long and wordy councils, but come at once to Reims and be worthily crowned."

That was her conception of her mission from the first, to have the Dauphin consecrated, and made king. Her next step, as she understood her mission (though it does not seem so certain that she was so commanded by her Saints), was to attack Paris. This she could have done with success even after the Coronation, if she had not been distrusted, thwarted, and set aside.

D'Harcourt asked her if the march on Reims was part of the monitions of her council, her *conseil* as she called her saintly advisers. Jeanne said, "Yes, they chiefly insist on it."

"Will you not tell us, in the presence of the King, what is the nature of this council of yours?" He did not know; if she did tell the Doctors at Poitiers, the secret was kept sacredly. Macliet, who was present, had been of the Poitiers commission of inquiry.

She blushed and said, "I understand what it is that you wish to know, and I will tell you willingly."

"Jeanne," said the Dauphin kindly, "You are sure that you are willing to speak about it in this company?" He knew.

"Yes," she said, and went on in such words as these: "When I am somewhat hurt because I am not readily believed in the things which I speak from God, I am wont to go apart and to pray God, complaining that they are hard of belief; and, after that prayer I hear a Voice saying to me, '*Fille Dé, va, va, va, je serai à ton aide, va!*' When I hear that Voice I am very glad, and desire always to be in that state."

"What is more, while she was speaking these words concerning her Voices, she strangely rejoiced, raising her eyes to heaven." In this scene Jeanne said little about her Voices, nothing about her visions.

At some moment, apparently about April 23–26 (?), Jeanne had visited the mother and the young wife of d'Alençon; the lady was a daughter of the Duc d'Orléans. Jeanne stayed with them for three or four days at the abbey of St. Florent, near Saumur. "God knows what joy they made for her," says Percéval de Cagny, the lifelong retainer of the House, and, says Quicherat, "the best informed, the most complete, the most sincere, and the earliest of the chroniclers of the Maid."

It was with the Duc d'Alençon in command that Jeanne now undertook a campaign for the purpose of driving the English from their holds on the Loire, before attempting the journey to Reims. A month had been wasted by the King and his advisers before this enterprise was permitted. Whether the enterprise was necessary, in order to free the French rear before the march to Reims, is not certain. The discouraged English army of the Loire garrisons was not capable of attacking Orleans afresh. The long

delayed reinforcements under Fastolf were not ready to march. Burgundy and Bedford were not reconciled. Had the Dauphin marched to Reims, leaving sufficient garrisons at Orleans and elsewhere, had he from Reims marched on Paris, Fastolf would have been compelled to retire on the capital, then insufficiently fortified, and the town would probably have fallen. It is not quite clear whether a party among the leaders advocated, in preference to the march to Reims, a campaign in Normandy before or after the new campaign on the Loire. In either case, the Maid argued that, "when the Dauphin was crowned and consecrated, the power of his adversaries would continually dwindle. So all came into her opinion," says Dunois.

The true point of attack was Paris. Normandy was devastated, the Dauphin's army would not find supplies; there were several fortified towns that would offer a long resistance; and, while the English commanded the seas, Rouen was impregnable. Yet a Norman campaign, not an instant movement on Paris, was regarded as the alternative to the march to Reims. With d'Alençon and the Maid, de Rais, de Boussac, La Hire, and de Saintrailles were for some time busy in collecting and equipping forces to clear out the English from the Loire towns,

At this moment we obtain the most fresh and gracious of all descriptions of the Maid. It appears in a letter of June 8, written by young Guy de Laval, the fourteenth of his name, to his mother and grandmother. His brother André, later Amiral and Maréchal of France, also signs the epistle. Jeanne knew their mother's renown for loyalty, and had sent her for that reason a ring of gold.

Guy writes that he has ridden from St. Catherine de Fierbois to Loches. At St. Aignan he announced his arrival and eagerness in the cause to the Dauphin, who thanked him for being ready at need, and coming unsummoned. He was a noble of a Breton house, and all aid from Bretagne was welcome, for the Constable, Arthur de Richemont, was forbidden to approach the Court, through the influence of his foe, La Trémoïlle. At Selles in Berry, Guy de Laval was welcomed by the Maid in her rooms. "She

sent for wine, and told me that she would soon make me drink wine in Paris. To see her and hear her speak, she seems a thing wholly divine." She was leaving for Romorantin with de Boussac and a host of men-at-arms and archers.

"I saw her mount, all in white armour but unhelmeted, a small steel sperth (a little battle-axe) in her hand. She had a great black horse, which plunged at the door of her house, and would not permit her to mount. 'Lead him to the Cross,' she cried; it stands in the road, in front of the church. There he stood as fast as if he were bound with cords, and she mounted and, turning towards the church gate she said in a sweet womanly voice, 'Ye priests and churchmen, go in processions and pray to God.' Then 'Forward, forward!' she cried, a gracious page bearing her standard displayed, and she with the little sperth in her hand."

The picture rises out of the night of nearly five centuries. There is a modern addition to the picture, Jeanne "was surrounded by mendicant friars." Of that there is no word in the letter of Guy de Laval. He says that she bade the priests at the church door make processions and prayers to God. Guy goes on to tell how d'Alençon has arrived, and how he has beaten the Duke at tennis. Richemont, the Constable, was expected with a force of 1000 men; we shall see how the truculent Arthur de Richemont was received; he whom the Dauphin, for love of fat La Trémoïlle, detested. "Never men went with better will to any enterprise than we go now." "There is no money, or very little, at Court, wherefore, Madame my mother, you who have my seal, spare not to sell or mortgage my lands as seems best, for our honour is to be saved, or if we be in default, to be lowered or lost. We must do as I say, for pay there is none.".

D'Alençon, Dunois, de Gaucourt are all following the Maid. The King wants to keep Guy with him till the Maid has cleared the line of the Loire, and then to ride with him to Reims. "God orbid that I should so tarry and not ride" to the front. "He is a lost man who waits." Vendôme, Boussac, La Hire are coming "soon we will be at work."

In this spirit were these two young gentlemen of France; but a biographer of Jeanne says, "As they had much need to gain money, they offered their services to the King, who received them very well, but did not give them a crown." Verily it was not to gather gold, but to spend their lands, that the young Lavals rode in. But they were friends of the Maid, and must be depreciated by suppressing the evidence of their disinterestedness!

The Maid entered Orleans, the base of the Loire campaign, on June 9, to the great joy of the people. According to the Historiographer Royal, Jean Chartier, who on such a point should have known the facts, the army was gathered more through desire to follow the Maid, who was known to seek God's service, than to fight for pay. The people of Orleans were very liberal in providing supplies and ammunition, being moved not only by loyalty and gratitude, though they were ceaselessly loyal and grateful, but also by their interests, for the English holds all around them were thorns in their side. The French force is stated at 8000 combatants of all arms, but the estimates are never trustworthy.

Here we may ask what was the military position, and what were the military qualities of the Maid? At this time, apparently, she had no official military position, though later, in November 1429, she is mentioned in official documents with d'Albret, Lieutenant-General for Berri, as one of the two commanders of the French force. She had her standard, like other captains, but only her Household followed it *officially*, say a dozen men in all. Nevertheless her standard was the favourite rallying-point of the men: as we have seen, it magnetically attracted the boldest, and it was always first among the foremost. The combatants devoted to the Maid distinguished themselves, like her own men, by wearing white penoncels on their lances.

When Jeanne was not consulted by the leaders, she sometimes caused her influence to be obeyed, as we have seen; but she was often consulted at Orleans, at Jargeau, before Pathay, at Troyes, and so forth, though the captains need not accept her opinion. On the eve of Pathay they did not attack, as she appears to have

wished; while on May 8 they obeyed her when she insisted on not facing Talbot in the field.

Her idea of strategy was always to strike swiftly at vital points, as at Paris and on the Ile de France. But on November 1429 her counsel, wisely or unwisely (it is a moot point), was not accepted by the captains,—and the result was disaster. In the spring campaign of 1430 she relied on the leaders after her Voices had predicted her capture.

It is not to be supposed that Jeanne could, unaided, plan combined operations in country with which she was unfamiliar; indeed, combined operations were little known, though the art of cutting lines of communication was well understood and practised. The correctness of her *coup d'œil* was admitted, when on May 4 a smaller force than that of April 28 marched on Orleans by the way of the Beauce.

By critics who have an equal horror and ignorance of war and of "miracles," it is averred that she knew absolutely nothing of war, and that she "was never consulted, she never led." To argue thus is merely to give the lie to the copious evidence—an arbitrary way of getting rid of facts not easily to be explained by science. The art of war is the application of sound sense to military affairs. War had degenerated into "a series of vulgar brawls." To understand what was needed in the military way required no instruction from St. Michael, the leader of the hosts of Heaven. Every plain man in France knew that to shake off the English yoke a combined effort, union among the jealous nobles, concentration, *and resolute fighting*, were necessary. The very critic who denies military knowledge to the Maid grants what he denies when he says "there was all the stout common sense of the people in her fear that the chivalry of France would not fight as she understood fighting." She soon showed how she understood fighting! Her influence promoted union and concentration; she had and she exercised the great military gift of encouragement by leading as Skobéleff led, by her own dauntless example, by her undefeated tenacity. "She was much superior to the men of war in courage and good will,"

says M. France, and these qualities are of supreme value to a leader. I go on to quote the sworn evidence to her merits of three of her comrades in arms, Dunois, de Termes, d'Alençon; men aged from twenty-two to twenty-five in 1429, men under fifty in 1450. We are told that they simply swore to any absurdity which was likely to please their party. But that is an arbitrary hypothesis, in the interests of the theory that Jeanne was not what history represents her. Few men, gentle or simple, perjured themselves with light hearts in the fifteenth century, and Dunois displayed a candour as to the success of Jeanne's military prophecies which disconcerts some of her admirers. Here follows the evidence:

De Termes. "At the assaults before Orleans, Jeanne showed valour and conduct which no man could excel in war. All the captains were amazed by her courage and energy, and her endurance. . . . In leading and arraying, and in encouraging men, she bore herself like the most skilled captain in the world, who all his life had been trained to war."

D'Alençon. "She was most expert in war, as much in carrying the lance as in mustering a force and ordering the ranks, and in laying the guns. All marvelled how cautiously and with what foresight she went to work, as if she had been a captain with twenty or thirty years of experience."

Dunois. "She displayed" (at Troyes) "marvellous energy, doing more work than two or three of the most famous and practised men of the sword could have done."

These three testimonies are selected because they are given by soldiers of experience who were eye-witnesses. In modern times General Davoût, a nephew of Napoleon's Marshal, recognised her possession of the two essential qualities of a leader, moral and physical courage; also he remarks on the strictness of her discipline; her care for her men, her caution, her enterprise, her combination of daring initiative with perseverance and tenacity.

General Dragomirof abounds in the same sense.

Against these testimonies of professional soldiers, contemporary

and of our own day, we have merely the repeated assertions of a peaceful man of letters, such as,

"Jeanne's advice was never asked: she was led about for luck, nothing was said to her."

"She did not lead the men-at-arms, the men-at-arms led her, not regarding her as an officer, but as a luck-bringer."

Dunois, de Termes, d'Alençon, and the other knights are dust: their good swords are rust, and it is safe to give them the lie!

To put the logic of the case in a nutshell, as de Morgan says, "it is more likely that P. has seen a ghost than that Q. *knows* he *cannot* have seen one." "It is more likely that Dunois, d'Alençon, de Termes, and a cloud of other witnesses saw a girl with great natural military qualities, than that a modern civilian *knows* that they *cannot* have seen such a being." It is a small point, but the Maid's eagerness to remain all night with the men at Les Augustins (May 6, 1429) while the leaders went to bed in Orleans, proves her knowledge of war. Her skill is a marvel like that of the untutored Clive, but nobody knows the limits of the resources of nature.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WEEK OF VICTORIES

As the Maid's *beau Duc*, d'Alençon, was commander of the King's army, she was comparatively uncontrolled in its direction; there was, however, but little union or discipline. According to the *Journal du Siège*, a party among the leaders was averse to attacking Jargeau, where Suffolk and his brothers, the de la Poles, with a garrison of 700 men, had been making themselves obnoxious to the Orleans people. Some captains urged that it was necessary, first of all, to encounter Fastolf,—who was at last moving from Paris with a force of 2000 lances (5000 men), artillery, and supplies, for the relief of Jargeau,—and after discussing Fastolf, to attack that town. "In fact, some leaders departed, and more would have done so, but for the fair words of the Maid and other leaders. The siege was half deserted."

Jeanne was, in a sense, the chief officer of artillery, that is, in so far as the Orleans burgesses sent to *her* the utensils for the siege works. We have already seen the evidence of d'Alençon as to Jeanne's skill in working artillery. The heavy guns and field-pieces sent from Orleans by water filled five sloops manned by forty boatmen, while twenty-four horses were needed to drag the chariot of the huge gun of position, resembling Mons Meg now in Edinburgh Castle. Ropes and scaling-ladders were also sent from Orleans. Of course it was then, and is now, natural to cry "Miracle"! whether seriously or in mockery, in face of d'Alençon's evidence, and even to say that the Maid, moving in a mist of hallucinations, "never observed the enemy."

On June 9, the day when Fastolf left Paris, the Maid set out for Jargeau. D'Alençon estimates his command at 600 lances:

with bowmen, engineers, and artillery the force would be some 2800 strong; while with 600 lances, led by Dunois, Florent d'Illiers, and other captains who joined within a short march of the town, the numbers were doubled.

A dispute arose as to the possibility of storming the town. The Maid said, "Success is certain. If I were not assured of this from God, I would rather herd sheep than put myself in so great jeopardy." Thus addressed, the army rode on, and had a skirmish with the English, who made a sortie and drove in the patrols. The Maid seized her standard, rallied the men, and occupied the suburbs of Jargeau. D'Alençon is frank enough to confess that very few sentinels were posted that night, and that an English sally might have caused a disaster. Yet La Hire, Dunois, and Florent d'Illiers were commanders of great experience, though apparently as open to surprise as that master of surprises, Montrose. Jeanne herself, so careful on the night of May 6 at Orleans, was on this occasion very careless. But perhaps the victors in the South African war have no right to throw the first stone at her!

Next day (June 12) the artillery duel began, and a great gun sent from Orleans, *la Bergère* or *Bergerie*, ruined one of the towers in the wall. The breach, "after some days," says d'Alençon (an error of memory), seemed practicable, and a council of war was being held to consider the question of storming it, when news came that La Hire was parleying with Suffolk, "so I and the other leaders were ill content with La Hire," says d'Alençon. La Hire was sent for, and it was decided to attack.

Suffolk, it appears, was offering to surrender if not relieved within fifteen days. As Fastolf with his army was approaching, the French leaders said that they would permit the English to depart instantly, with their horses. In Jeanne's opinion, according to her own account, they ought to be allowed to depart in their doublets, without their armour; otherwise they must abide the assault. She had summoned them on the previous night to yield peaceably to the Dauphin.

The terms of surrender were refused by Suffolk, and the French heralds cried, "To the assault!" "*Avant, gentil Duc, à l'assault!*" said Jeanne to d'Alençon. He hesitated; he doubted the practicability of the breach. "Doubt not! The hour is come when God pleases! God helps them who help themselves. *Ah, gentil Duc*, are you afraid? Do you not know that I promised your wife to bring you home safe and sound?" The Duchess, indeed, remembering the huge ransom paid for the Duc after Verneuil, wished to ask the Dauphin to let him stay at home. Perhaps his bride did keep him from joining the army of relief at Orleans. Jeanne had then said, "Lady, fear not! I will bring him home better than when he left"; so d'Alençon testifies.

The assault began, the skirmishers advancing: while Jeanne said to the Duc, "Change your position! That gun," pointing to a piece of ordnance on the wall, "will kill you!" and it did kill a gentleman who later found himself at the same spot.

After launching the first swarm of assailants with the scaling-ladders, d'Alençon and the Maid rushed into the breach, while Suffolk called out that he wished to speak with d'Alençon; but it was too late. The Maid was climbing a scaling-ladder, standard in hand, when a stone crashed through the flag and struck her *chapeline*, a light helmet with no vizor. She was smitten to the earth, but sprang up crying, "*Amis, amis, sus, sus!*" "On, friends on! The Lord has judged the English. Have good heart! Within an hour we take them!"

"In an instant the town was taken; the English fled to the bridges; over a thousand men were slain in the pursuit," says d'Alençon.

Suffolk himself was captured.

The town and the property stored in the church were looted, as was usual after a town was stormed. Less usual was the murder of some English prisoners, whose French captors had quarrelled over the right to their ransoms. The other prisoners were safely conveyed by boats under cloud of night to Orleans.

D'Alençon and the Maid returned to Orleans in triumph after

the victory at Jargeau (June 12). The captive duke, in England, wrote, sending "*salut et dilection*" to his friendly and loyal accountants, and announcing that his treasurer, Boucher, Jeanne's host, has paid, in June last, thirteen golden crowns to a draper and a tailor for a rich robe and a *huque* to be given to Jeanne. Like the bride in the old ballad, "she was all in cramoisy" and dark green, the colours of the Duc d'Orléans. Jeanne was girl enough to love rich attire; a crime, according to her judges and her false friend, the Archbishop of Reims, writing after the capture of the Maid. Here the prelate touched the lowest depth of human meanness and malignity.

On the evening of June 14, at Orleans, the indefatigable Maid said to d'Alençon, "To-morrow, after dinner, I wish to pay a visit to the English at Meun. Give orders to the company to march at that hour." Meun was the English fortified town nearest to Orleans down the river; below it in English hands was Beaugency. The bridge-head of Meun, strongly fortified, as at Orleans, was taken by assault (June 15). A French garrison was placed in the bridge-towers, the army bivouacked in the fields, and, not attacking the castle and town of Meun, the French marched next morning (June 16) against Beaugency, whence they knew that Talbot himself had retreated to Janville. The English deserted the town of Beaugency, retiring into the castle, but leaving men ambushed in houses and sheds. These men attempted to surprise the French; there were losses on both sides, but the English were driven into the castle. The French then planted artillery and battered the castle walls, when (June 16) dramatic events occurred which are variously described. The result of them was that Jeanne in vain attempted to reconcile her King, slave of La Trémoïlle as he was, with the truculent Constable Arthur de Richemont, who was eager to bring to the aid of France a large force of men. In September 1428, at Chinon, the greatest assembly of the Estates before 1789 had vainly demanded the restoration of Richemont to the Royal favour. At that moment, when Orleans was already threatened, France needed union, and

the sword of every loyal man. The King promised; La Trémoïlle made him break his Royal word. During the siege of Orleans the men of Richemont and La Trémoïlle were at war in Poitou. None the less, by June 8, Guy de Laval wrote to his mother that he expected Richemont to join the Royal army under d'Alençon. But d'Alençon, commanding for the Dauphin, had no terms to keep with de Richemont. To d'Alençon, besieging Beaugency, appeared (June 16) the formidable Constable at the head of a large command. How came he there? The Constable had a historian in his pay, Guillaume Gruel, and Gruel conscientiously earned his wages. "In his Memoirs the other leaders are almost always sacrificed to the Constable," says his editor, Petitot. "We must be on our guard against his partiality for his master," says Quicherat.

Gruel asserts that his master, the Constable, had raised his force to succour Orleans; that the Dauphin sent a gentleman to bid him retire, otherwise the Royal forces would attack him; that the Constable replied, "he would see who would resist him." He then heard of the siege at Beaugency, and made for that place, sending messengers to ask the besiegers for quarters for himself and his contingent. This is absurd! Orleans ceased to be attacked on May 8; the siege of Beaugency began on June 16; the Constable did not arrive there on his way from an attempt to deliver Orleans!

Gruel proceeds to say that his master's messengers were met with the reply that the Maid and her army were coming to fight *him*. "In that case," he said, "I will have the pleasure of meeting them." D'Alençon mounted, the Maid mounted, La Hire and other captains asked her what she meant? "To fight the Constable!" was her reply.

"There are some of us in your company who love the Constable better than all the maids in France."

As these amenities were being interchanged, apparently while the Maid, d'Alençon, and young de Laval were riding forward, the great Constable, also advancing, met them, "to the dismay of

the others." "Then the Maid, with d'Alençon, young Guy de Laval, Dunois, and other captains welcomed him gladly. The Maid dismounted and embraced his knees," her way of saluting Saints and Kings. The Constable growled out, "Jeanne, they tell me that you want to fight me. I know not if you come from God—or elsewhere. If from God, I do not fear you, for He knows my good will; if from the Devil, I fear you still less."

They then rode back to Beaugency, and the Constable's men, being the latest comers, supplied the sentinels, as was the manner of war. That night the English surrendered the castle by capitulation (between June 16 and June 17, or, according to Wavrin, between June 17 and June 18). This is Gruel's account.

D'Alençon, on the other hand, says that, on the news of the Constable's approach, he and the Maid thought of breaking up the siege, as they were under Royal orders not to accept his alliance; but the Constable remained with them. Next day, (June 17) news arrived that the redoubtable Talbot was approaching with a great army to rescue the English in Beaugency. The cry *to arms!* was raised, and Jeanne said that it was better to use the aid of the Constable. The English in Beaugency had been allowed to depart (in the dawn of June 17). La Hire's patrols now rode in with tidings of the approach of Talbot "with 1000 men-at-arms." If we take d'Alençon's "men-at-arms" to mean "lances,"—each lance with three or four archers,—Fastolf's command would be of about 5000 men, the number at which it is usually reckoned. The army must have consisted partly of reinforcements from England, demanded by Bedford early in April. But our own MS. archives throw no light on the recruiting of this large force, we hear nothing of fresh English levies, and it is impossible to guess how Fastolf got it together. Then the Maid said to de Richemont, "*Ah, beau connestable*, you have not come for my sake, but since you are come you are welcome." Many of the French were afraid to meet Talbot and his men, and wished to retreat, so great was still the prestige of England. "In

God's name!" said Jeanne, "we must fight them; if they were hanging from the clouds, we shall have them."

The apparition of the entire command of Fastolf, 5000 men, with a small contingent under Talbot, must now be explained Luckily we have the evidence of a man of the sword, Wavrin de Forestel, who rode under the standard of Fastolf. That skilled commander, who was no mere headlong leader of desperate cavalry charges, had arrived at, or near, Jargeau, only to see the flag of the Lilies floating from the newly-captured donjon. He therefore moved on Janville, within a day's march of Orleans. (He had been falsely reported to be at Janville on that day of May when the French took the fort of St. Loup.) At Janville, Fastolf waited for intelligence. Early on June 16, Talbot reached him with 40 lances and 200 archers, reporting that the French were besieging Beaugency. Fastolf went to Talbot's inn before noon; they dined together—the meal corresponded to the modern French *déjeuner*. Talbot insisted that they should march next day to relieve Beaugency. By starting at once they might have arrived in time; but they, like Grouchy on the morning of Waterloo, dallied over their strawberries; they did not march towards the thunder of the guns.

In fact, Fastolf was now for leaving the garrisons of the Loire towns to their fate, retiring on the English strong places, and awaiting the arrival of reinforcements promised by Bedford. The English were demoralised, he said, the French were full of confidence; but Talbot vowed that with his little company, and any who chose to join him, he would, "so help him God and St. George," attack the enemy. His advice prevailed, they would start for Beaugency next morning. Fatal delay! Next day (June 17) Fastolf repeated the story of his anxiety. They were but a handful compared to the French, and, if they fought, they would imperil the conquests of Henry V. But Talbot and the leaders insisted on advancing to rescue Beaugency, never guessing, on June 17, that Matthew Gough had prematurely surrendered the place in the midnight of June 16–17 apparently (if not, in

the midnight of June 17–18). Talbot could not have imagined such a surrender. Fastolf yielded, and, passing Meun,—of which the town and castle were in English hands, while the French held, and the Constable had reinforced, the bridge-head towers on the south bank of the Loire,—they were within a league of Beaugency. But La Hire's patrols, as we saw, had brought in news of the English advance; Jeanne and the Constable had advised that the whole French army should move to meet Talbot and Fastolf, and the French now occupied a *kopje*, and were arrayed in battle order on that *petite montagnette*, as Wavrin calls it. There stood their host defiant, on that isle of the wide airy sea of the wooded plain of the Beauce.

It was now (June 17) that Jeanne exclaimed, "The English are ours; if they hung among the clouds," that floated high in the blue above the plain, "we must have them!" Fastolf and Talbot could not advance on Beaugency (they knew not that it had fallen, or was that night to fall) without fighting; but the sun was low in the sky. The English halted within range of the *kopje*; they dismounted, and formed in order of battle; the archers drove the sharp butts of their long pikes into the ground, and stood behind this improvised defence, which ought to have been, and often was, impregnable.

The French remained motionless in their excellent position. The English therefore sent two heralds, "saying that there were three knights who would fight them if they would descend into the plain." Surrey made the same offer to James IV a day or two before the battle of Flodden; but not even the rash king came down from Flodden Edge to the level fields, and d'Alençon was not less wary. The people with the Maid replied, "Go to your rest to-day, for it is late enough. To-morrow, if it please God and Our Lady, we shall see you at closer quarters."

This answer, whether dictated by the Maid or not, was more than justified by the amazing good fortune of the morrow. The English fell back on Meun, and all through the night their guns battered the bridge-head towers held by the French. Their

purpose was to assault and take the towers next day, cross the river, and march to rescue Beaugency by the southern bank of the Loire. The English knew nothing of the surrender of Beaugency, and at eight o'clock of the morning of June 18 were collecting *pavois* (huge shields) and doors for shelter as they stormed the bridge fort of Meun. As they were thus engaged there came a pursuivant from Beaugency, with news that the fort and town were in the hands of the French, who were advancing against Fastolf and Talbot.

According to Wavrin, the French, whom he saw on June 17, were a force of 12,000 men on June 18. Monstrelet says 6000 to 8000.

The English, as Beaugency had fallen, evacuated Meun and began to march towards Paris, across the great wooded plain of the Beauce. According to Wavrin, the French had no intelligence, knew not where to look for the retreating English. Some of them asked the Maid where they were to be found? "Ride boldly on," she said, "you will have good guidance." They had a strange guide enough, as it proved.

Dunois states that d'Alençon asked Jeanne what they were to do?

"Have good spurs."

"What, are we to turn our backs?" said those who heard her.

"No! but the English will not defend themselves, and you will need good spurs to follow them."

Though the most learned of the historians of the Maid places this dialogue on the morning of June 18, from the context of the evidence it rather appears to be a saying of June 17. The French, certainly, on the morning of June 18, simply marched after Talbot's force, which was moving north by east towards Paris. Jeanne predicted for the Dauphin the greatest victory that he had won for many a day. Some eighty riders, "mounted on the flower of chargers," galloped in advance as scouts.

The French order of battle was not what the Maid desired. La Hire commanded in the van, the eighty riders were of his company. Says the Maid's page, de Coutes, then a boy of

fourteen, "She was very angry, because she was especially fond of being entrusted with the vanguard." Probably the leaders kept her in the rearguard on this occasion, as the clans forced Prince Charles to charge with the second line at Prestonpans, and as they vainly implored Dundee not to hazard himself at Killiecrankie. Nothing was more likely than that the retreating English had left an ambush in one of the woods or ravines of the plain, and the leaders would not risk Jeanne with the foremost riders.

After a long ride, the French scouts saw in the middle distance on the right the church tower of Lignerolles, on the left the little town of Pathay. The English were not visible, the country was thickly wooded. Their advanced guard was led by a knight with a white standard; then came the guns, and the waggons of the commissariat with its motley attendants, and then the main body, under Fastolf, Talbot, Ramston, and other captains. The rearguard, all Englishmen, rode behind. From the remark that "all the rearguard were English," we may infer that the bulk of Fastolf's force were Picards and other foreigners. When they were within a league of Pathay, neither seen by the French nor seeing them, some scouts of the English advanced guard rode in, they had caught sight of a large French force advancing. Fresh scouts sent forward brought the same tidings. It was determined to post the advanced guard, with the waggons and guns, along the tall hedges on either side of the road to Pathay. As at the battle of the Herrings, the waggons would be used as outworks of a laager. Talbot, in advance, perceived two strong hedges; he dismounted, and said that he would line them with 500 picked archers and hold that pass till his rearguard joined his main body. "But another thing befell him."

La Hire's eighty gallopers, riding furiously, not knowing where the English were, startled a stag from a wood: the stag rushed into the main body of the English; they all raised the view-halloo, for they never suspected the presence of the French. Unlucky sporting instinct of the English! The scouts of La Hire instantly

drew bridle and quietly sent back some of their number with the message, "Found!" The French cavalry of La Hire formed in order of battle, set spurs to their horses, and charged with such impetus through the pass which Talbot was lining with his picked archers, that they cut them up before they could fix their pikes or loose their shafts.

Meanwhile Fastolf, with the cavalry of the main body, or *bataille*, was spurring furiously to reach the advanced guard of the English, and was mistaken by that force, or by its leader, the knight of the white standard, for the leader of the main French corps. In truth, Grouchy was coming, not, as on a later June 18, the Prussians. The white standard-bearer galloped, followed by his whole force, towards the Paris road, in wild panic; and Fastolf seeing this flight, and seeing La Hire and Saintrailles cutting up Talbot's archers, drew bridle. He was advised by his officers to save himself, the battle was lost. "Beholding this, Messire John Fastolf retired, sad at heart, and with a very small company, making the greatest dole that ever man made. And he would have thrown himself into the fight, but was otherwise counselled by Messire Jehan, Bastard of Thian, and others that were with him," says Wavrin.

Apparently he fled with a few mounted men, while the English foot of his command were cut to pieces by the French advanced guard, without making any resistance. Dunois reckoned that the English lost more than 4000 in killed and prisoners, while the rest of Fastolf's force was "missing." Talbot was prisoner to Saintrailles; he was led before d'Alençon, Jeanne, and the Constable. "You did not expect this in the morning?" asked d'Alençon, who could not forget his own captivity and the burden of his ransom. "Fortune of war!" answered the brave Talbot. Ramston, Scales, and many other leaders were taken; Fastolf was reported to have been captured, but he joined Bedford at Corbueil. Bedford deemed that he, like Sir John Cope,

"wasna blate
To come with the news of his ain defeat,"

and Fastolf was deprived of the ribbon of the Garter. He was afterwards reinstated. In Shakespeare, Talbot would have won the day "if Sir John Fastolf had not played the coward."

There is reason to doubt whether Jeanne saw the massacre, and the unresisting flight of the English, which she had predicted. All may have been over but the pursuit when the French rearguard reached the scene. Her page says, "She was most pitiful at the sight of so great a slaughter. A Frenchman was leading some English prisoners; he struck one of them on the head; the man fell senseless. Jeanne sprang from her saddle and held the Englishman's head in her lap, comforting him; and he was shriven." Her heart was steeled to the cruel necessities of war, for only by war could France be redeemed; but she had the soul of the chivalric ideal. That night she slept at Ligneroles.

Had but St. Michael whispered to her *Paris!* The army, with the Constable's force, would have followed her; the country would have risen round them; indeed the adjacent towns came in to the Dauphin. She had captured the English commissariat, waggons, food, and the English ammunition and artillery. The fortifications of Paris, we know, were in disrepair; the English garrison had probably been depleted to fill the *cadres* of Fastolf. The mob in Paris was as likely, at least, to be Armagnac as to be Anglo-Burgundian. However, on hearing of Pathay, the *bourgeois* took heed to their sentinels, began to fortify their walls, and deposed their magistrates and elected others whom they thought more true to the Anglo-Burgundian cause. To have marched straight on Paris, from Pathay, as far as we can judge meant victory; but it also meant disregard of the Dauphin, of his Council, and of La Trémoïlle. Moreover, the purpose of the Maid was fixed; she would first lead the Dauphin to his coronation, and then, at once, would march on Paris. This she could have done, if Charles would have saved a fortnight by following her, instantly after Pathay, to Reims.

But Paris was the right objective. During the delays, Bedford and the Duke of Burgundy were reconciled, early in July, and renewed their alliance. Bedford called in all the men who could be spared from the garrisons of Normandy. It was said, on the worst authority (see note at end of chapter), that Jeanne about this time announced a Scottish invasion of England. But, in fact, the Bishop of Winchester, Cardinal Beaufort, had arranged (in May–June, at Dunbar) a peace with Scotland as soon as he heard of the relief of Orleans. He was thus free to launch on France a force which he had enlisted in England for a crusade against the Bohemian heretics. The Articles of Agreement between the English Government and the Cardinal were made on July 1, obviously after the news of the disaster of Pathay was received. The army engaged was of 250 lances and 2500 archers. "The realm stands in likelihood to be lost and subverted," says the document. The new English troops were engaged to serve from June 23 to December 21.

Moreover, in tardy response to Bedford's eager request for reinforcements, sent before the Maid took the field at the end of April, Sir John Radclyffe had been entrusted with 200 men-at-arms and 700 bowmen. On July 16, Bedford, at Paris anxiously urges the arrival of these two forces—the Cardinal's and Radclyffe's—united, "for the Dauphin has taken the field, will instantly be crowned at Reims, and thence will march direct on Paris." Even then Charles would have been in time; but we are to see how he deliberately rejected his opportunity. Bedford also implores Henry VI to come at once (to be crowned). The new English army of 3350 men was thrown into Paris on July 25. It was thus that the purpose of the Maid was baffled; she never gave Guy de Laval wine to drink in Paris. The enmity of the Dauphin and La Trémoïlle against the Constable, whose alliance they refused, the intrigues of La Trémoïlle, the diplomacy of the Archbishop of Reims began, from the morrow of Pathay, to ruin the most gallant of enterprises.

Note

The Letter of Jacques de Bourbon

The authority for Jeanne's announcement of the coming of a Scottish contingent, is a letter of July 24, 1429, addressed by that strange personage, Jacques de Bourbon, to the Bishop of Laon, who was in a much better position than Jacques to know the real state of affairs. It was published in French, from the Vienna archives, by M. Siméon Luce, in 1892. The letter contains a myth about a massacre at Auxerre, which also found its way into Italian news-letters. Jacques puts Fastolf's force at 3500, and reckons the prisoners at 1500. The Pucelle is said to have predicted a great battle and victory on the road to Reims, where the enemy had no forces except the garrisons of the towns! Bedford is said, with equal absurdity, to have tried to get the holy *ampoule* of Reims, and be crowned King of France! Charles has an army of 30,000 horse and 20,000 foot! He is marching from Reims against Calais! The letter is of no historical value.

CHAPTER XV

THE RIDE TO REIMS

AFTER Pathay, the Maid rode to Orleans in triumph. The people expected the Dauphin to make their town the base of the expedition to Reims; they decorated the streets, but he, always skulking, remained the guest of La Trémoïlle at his house of Sully. On June 22 the Maid met her prince at Saint-Bénoit-sur-Loire. There, says an eye-witness, the Dauphin abounded in her praises, deigned to express his regret for all her labours,—and actually asked her to take a holiday.

She, that had now not a year of freedom before her, as she knew, wept,—it is not strange,—and implored him to cease to doubt, he would gain his kingdom, and would soon be crowned. She had a boon to crave. For the sake of France, she begged her prince to forgive the Constable and accept the aid of himself and his men. The Constable now sent gentlemen to approach La Trémoïlle, and even besought the favourite to let him serve the King: he would kiss the knees of La Trémoïlle for this grace: he sought it at a graceless face. The Dauphin bade the Constable begone; to the grief of the Maid and the captains. In the following winter La Trémoïlle sent a man to assassinate the Constable, who detected and pardoned the sinner.

The official chronicler of the King says that La Trémoïlle caused other nobles of good will to be discarded; they had come from all quarters for the sake of the Maid, and the favourite went in personal fear. "But none at that hour dared to speak against La Trémoïlle, though all men saw clearly that the fault lay in him."

The Duc de Bretagne now sent a herald and his confessor on a mission to Jeanne. She told the confessor that the Duc should not make such long delays to help his feudal superior.

The Dauphin next rode to Gien on Loire, and held "long and weary councils." It is said that some leaders were for attacking Cosne and La Charité, thirty leagues from Orleans, on upper Loire, while the Maid was all for Reims.

It may have been at this time that a campaign in Normandy was proposed, as Dunois reports. It is difficult to see how success could have attended such an enterprise in a devastated and all but depopulated region, studded with strong places of strength, and Rouen could not be hopefully assailed while England held the seas. The march to Reims, on the other hand, was through a rich and peaceful country, and there were good Anglo-Burgundian towns to be reclaimed for the Dauphin.

One historian is intelligent enough to accuse Jeanne of "retarding the deliverance of her country, by causing the Norman campaign to be abandoned"; while he also assures us that "the apocalypses of Jeanne had nothing to do with influencing the determination of the nobles to ride to Reims"! The Archbishop of Reims, the same critic says, really caused by his advice the march to Reims, though we shall find him anxious to abandon the effort at the second check.

To these consistent and logical opinions we prefer the statement of Dunois, that the Maid won all to her determined course. The ideas of the Maid may be open to military objections, but she cannot, at one and the same time, have been greatly guilty of preventing the enterprise in Normandy, and also purely without influence in the affair.

To us it may well seem that the true policy was to attack Paris on the morrow of Pathay; but we do not learn that this was ever proposed by any one. In Normandy, at this time, Richemont is said by his modern biographer to have been active and successful; and certainly, in mid-August, Bedford left Paris for Normandy, as if that province were being threatened.

The d'Alençon chronicler avers that Jeanne was deeply grieved by the delays at Gien (not more than ten days), and vexed by advisers who opposed the ride to Reims, insisting that there were many cities and places of strength on the way, English and Burgundian fortresses strong in walls and in supplies, between Gien and the city of St. Remy.

"I know all that, and make no account of it," she said; and "in sheer vexation she left the town, and bivouacked in the fields two days before the departure of the King."

The Maid knew as well as any man the strength of the hostile cities on the road. She had passed through Auxerre on her way from Domremy, and the reputation of Troyes and of Reims was familiar to her. Her fame attracted hosts "who would not budge except for her." To say, as one of her critics does, that she did not know the way to Champagne from the way to Normandy is childish; she had ridden through Champagne, and knew her right hand from her left. The army of the Dauphin, collected near Gien, contained poor gentlemen, riding as archers, on ponies like the yellow steed of d'Artagnan, and poorly paid at two or three francs. With these were Dunois, Guy de Laval, La Trémoïlle, de Rais, d'Albret, and d'Alençon. Jeanne appears to have gone in advance from Gien on June 27, the Dauphin following on June 29.

The mind of Jeanne, at the moment of starting for Reims to fulfil her mission, was certainly filled with even more than her usual certainty of divinely given success. "The Maid," she wrote to the people of Tournai, "lets you know that in eight days she has chased the English out of all their strong places on the Loire." She takes the credit to herself as the angel of the Archbishop of Embrun's treatise, the warrior angel of the Lord; unless we suppose, with M. Salomon Reinach, that a clerk altered her words for the purpose of exalting her mission. Like the rest of the party, she believed that Fastolf had been captured at Pathay: probably a case of mistaken identity.

The town of Tournai adhered to the Dauphin in the midst of a country of Burgundian allegiance; and, accepting the invitation of

the Maid, the people sent representatives to the Coronation. The Dauphin himself left Gien on June 29; by July 4 the army had passed the Burgundian city of Auxerre. In this town, on her way from Domremy, the Maid, in her black and grey page's suit, had heard Mass with Jean de Novelonpont and Bertrand de Poulengy. Now, within four months, she returned, the companion and counsellor of princes, at the head of an army which, in her presence, had never met with a single check. There is nothing more wonderful in the turnings of the flying wheel of fortune.

But at Auxerre there was a pause. The town was under Burgundian allegiance, and, if it admitted the Dauphin, had too good reason to fear the revenge of Burgundy. It was one thing for the Dauphin to win towns, another thing to keep and defend them when the tide of victory turned. His official historian writes, and the other chroniclers follow him, that Auxerre "yielded no full obedience. Some of the townsfolk came out, and it was said that they bribed La Trémoïlle to let them remain in a state of truce," of neutrality. The captains murmured against La Trémoïlle: Jeanne was eager to threaten the city with assault; but by a convention, the town sold food to the army, which was in great necessity. After three days the army moved on. La Trémoïlle was said to have secretly received a bribe of two thousand crowns to make this arrangement. From the Burgundian chronicler, Monstrelet, we learn that Auxerre promised to yield fully if Troyes, Châlons, and Reims did the same; but this vow was not kept. The captains and the Maid must have seen the folly of accepting the Auxerre terms from the other cities, Troyes, Châlons, and Reims. To do so would have been to leave hostile fortresses in their rear. A mere military demonstration would have opened the gates of Auxerre, as it opened the gates of Troyes, but La Trémoïlle got his two thousand crowns.

On July 4 the army (absurdly estimated at 50,000 men by a news-writer) reached Saint-Phal, whence they negotiated with the town of Troyes, which was strong, well provisioned, populous, and occupied by a Burgundian garrison.

(Here we have the evidence of a pro-Burgundian writer of about 1620, Jean Rogier, who used, and copied, documents no longer extant in the originals. He deftly and patriotically suppressed the crucial facts.)

The Dauphin had already received citizens from Reims, who assured him that the city would open her gates; and the Duke of Burgundy informed the people of Reims that he knew the fact. The people of Troyes also knew, for they had taken a Cordelier, a begging friar, who gave them the information. This man, Brother Richard, was a popular preacher, a meddlesome enthusiast *de la pire espèce*. He had been, or pretended that he had been, in the Holy Land, where he found the Jews expecting the Advent of Antichrist, though how they came to believe in Antichrist is a difficult question. Him whom they called the Messiah, Brother Richard called Antichrist, that is the explanation. In Paris the man had preached "sensational" sermons in spring; like Savonarola he induced the people to burn their "vanities"—cards, dice, lawn billiards, women's horned caps, and so forth. In May he was expelled from Paris, where he had collected enthusiastic mobs. That he perhaps preached patriotism has been asserted, but the people of Troyes took him for a sound Anglo-Burgundian. He proclaimed the dawn of the day of Judgment, and distributed leaden medals marked with the name of Jesus. Early in December 1428 he had recommended the people of Troyes and the neighbourhood to sow beans, "Sow beans, good people, sow plenty of beans; for he who should come is coming, and the hour is short." Who was coming? Antichrist or the Dauphin? Beans from the time of Pythagoras have been mystical vegetables; but the literal people, determined to "give him beans," whoever *he* might be, took Brother Richard at his word, and the country round Troyes had been fragrant with bean flowers. The Brother, like Bedford, at this time regarded Jeanne as "a limb of the Devil," perhaps a female Antichrist.

Meanwhile the people of Reims and the people of Troyes, as bold as lions, assured each other that they would never admit the

Dauphin, but "cleave to the King" (Henry VI) and the Duke of Burgundy till their dying day, "inclusively."

These gallant resolutions boded ill for the Dauphin; he could not be provisioned at Troyes, he could not turn it; and he could not, being a hundred miles from his base, leave Troyes in his rear. He summoned the town on July 5. Jeanne dictated a letter to the people; they must recognise their rightful Lord, who was *moving on Paris* by way of Reims, with the aid of King Jesus. If they do not yield, the Dauphin will none the less enter their city. The Maid, *ptoliporthos* as Odysseus, had a way of fulfilling her prophecies.

On the same day the people of Troyes forwarded these letters to them of Reims. For their part they "have sworn on the precious Body of Jesus Christ to resist to the death." Bold burgesses! In the afternoon they wrote again. The Dauphin's army now lay round their walls: heralds had brought his letters, but all in Troyes—the Lords, the men-at-arms, the burgesses—had sworn not to admit the enemy, except by express command of the Duke of Burgundy, to whom their letters are to be forwarded. They then armed "and went to man the walls," resolute to keep their oath in defiance of death. Of the Maid they spoke with the utmost contempt, calling her a *coquarde*, which is certainly not intended as a compliment; and a mad woman, possessed of the Devil, whose letter, which they had burned, "is neither rhyme nor reason" (*n'avoit ni ryme ny raison*). They have caught a Cordelier (Brother Richard), who says that he has seen burgesses of Reims intriguing with the Dauphin.

Meanwhile the people of Châlons wrote to them of Reims, saying that they hear Brother Richard, previously reckoned *un très bon prudhomme*, has turned his coat, and carried letters from Jeanne, but the brave people of Troyes are fighting furiously against the Dauphin! The Dauphin, in a letter of July 4, had promised the people of Troyes to be good Lord to them if they submitted, and he would send a herald, and receive the townsfolk, should they wish to send a deputation. (Dated from Brinon l'Archevesque.) On

July 8 the burgesses of Reims sent a letter to the captain of their town, then at Château-Thierry. They mean to fight, unless he or his lieutenant recommends submission. The captain said he would return and lead them, if he had assurance of a sufficient force. He rode to Reims; but, as he could only promise a Burgundian army of relief within six weeks, he and his men-at-arms were not admitted within the town. News of an army of 8000 English landed, and of the cutting of the Dauphin's lines of communication, was received at Reims with incredulity.

It was clear enough that, if Troyes held out, the Dauphin could not advance; and if Troyes did not hold out, the Dauphin would meet no opposition at Reims. All hung on the conduct of the lion-hearted men of Troyes. But, to follow our pro-Burgundian author, the Dauphin had meanwhile (June 8) received the Bishop of Troyes, and promised an amnesty, and good government "like that of King Louis," if Troyes would submit. Hereon, moved by the mention of St. Louis, of the amnesty, relief from a garrison, and from all aids except the *gabelle*, the bold burgesses took the liberty of breaking their oaths sworn on the sacred body of the Lord, they submitted, and advised the people of Reims to submit.

But the brother of the captain of Reims wrote that the nobles and the garrison of Troyes remained resolute till Brother Richard, after meeting Jeanne, debauched the townsfolk. They would no longer hear of resistance; but the garrison, as at the capitulation of Beaugency, retired with horses, arms, and a silver mark by way of ransom for each of their prisoners. The squire who brought this letter from Troyes to Châtillon said that he had seen the Maid, "a stupider he never saw, she was nothing to Madame d'Or,"—an athletic lady of pleasure at the Burgundian Court. Opinions differ about Madame d'Or! One historian says that she "was a female fool or jester, a dwarf no higher than a boot." For this he cites Siméon Luce, who, on the other hand, describes Madame d'Or as a gymnast of incomparable beauty, nimbleness, and athletic vigour, and he suspects that the golden abundance of her hair was the cause of the foundation of the Burgundian Order

of the Golden Fleece. *Une moult gracieuse folle* is a contemporary description. M. Vallet de Viriville, however, represents her as one of the visionaries with whom he groups Jeanne d'Arc!

As late as 1620, or about that date, local patriotism inspired Rogier, the custodian of the town's manuscripts of Reims, to give this account of the surrender of Troyes. The Maid, we have seen, according to Rogier, played no part in the affair. The resolute townsfolk simply

"Vowing they would ne'er consent, consented."

But why did they consent? We can trace, from other evidence, the real course of events, which was as follows: To La Trémoïlle and the distrustful and craven favourites of the King, the army seemed destined to make a speedy and ludicrous retreat; it could never reach Reims, nor even venture beyond Troyes. The celebrity of its fortifications and the absolute lack of siege material in the Royal army protected Troyes from serious menace; while to capture Auxerre was merely to irritate the Duke of Burgundy, with whom the advisers of Charles persisted in trying to negotiate. Jeanne, on the contrary, with the certainty of instinct, insisted on an assault, while La Trémoïlle, as we saw, is averred to have been bought over to prevent it.

Auxerre was left in the rear, and as for Troyes, on July 5 Jeanne, with the advanced guard, had appeared before that city. A few useless shots were fired from the walls, a few hundreds of the garrison sallied forth, and the usual *escarmouche* resulted. Then the army encamped about the town, living mainly on the beans sown to please Brother Richard, and almost without bread. The delay was likely to end in a retreat: it is not certain that the Dauphin arrived at the front before July 8. The army was without money and supplies, and was nearly a hundred miles from its base, at Gien In Troyes, men were swearing awful oaths to die rather than surrender.

Probably on July 8 the Archbishop of Reims, in Council, advanced all these and other reasons for retiring: they seem good

strategic reasons enough. The Dauphin bade the Archbishop take the opinions of the Council. Almost all decided that, as the King had failed to enter Auxerre, a place not nearly so strong as Troyes, retreat was the only policy. The Archbishop, when collecting the votes of the Council, arrived at de Trèves, that is, Robert Macon, a veteran in politics who had once been Chancellor. He advised that the Maid should be consulted, especially as the Dauphin, without money, had undertaken by her advice an adventure that did not seem possible. Le Macon may have wished to see how the Maid would extricate herself from the quandary, probably he expected to have the laugh on his side. Jeanne was called in and made her usual salutation to her prince. The Archbishop addressed her, pointing out the many difficulties, and the necessity of retreat.

"Do you believe all this, gentle Dauphin?" she said, turning to Charles.

"If you have anything profitable and reasonable to say, you will be trusted."

"Gentle King of France, if you are ready to wait beside your town of Troyes, in two days it will be brought to your allegiance."

"Jeanne," said the Archbishop, "we could wait for six days, if we were certain to have the town; but is it certain?"

"Doubt it not!" said the Maid.

She mounted, she rode through the host, she organised supplies of faggots, doors, tables, and so forth, as the English had done at Meun, to serve as shelters in the attack, and to screen such guns as they had: heavy guns of position they must have lacked.

Dunois, who was present, says: "She showed wonderful energy, doing more than two or three of the most practised and famous captains could have done; and she so worked all night that next day the Bishop and townsfolk, in fear and trembling, made their submission." The citizens "had lost hope, they sought refuge, and fled into the churches." What could the burgesses do? In the early morning they saw the preparations for storming; they saw a slim figure in white armour with a patch upon the shoulder

plate, where the arrow had found its way at Orleans. "*À l'assault!*" cried the girl's voice, and she made the sign of throwing faggots into the fosse. It was enough. The citizens sent the Bishop to profess their obedience, and make the best terms possible. The Bishop was on the side of the loyalists, and had a good deal of influence.

These incidents in which Jeanne took part are those which the patriotic archivist of Reims omitted from his account of the surrender of men sworn on the sacrament to die rather than yield. What Jeanne did at Troyes she would have done at Auxerre. It was not difficult to terrify the bold burgesses, but the surprising fact is that a girl was left to suggest the enterprise. According to Dunois, the Council hesitated between attempting a siege and merely passing by towards Reims, a military blunder of the first rank. The girl knew more of human nature and of the elementary rules of war than all the famous captains. She had confidence, and she won the day. But for her, the Dauphin would have sneaked back to Gien, and would not have won scores of cities and castles, much lamented by Bedford. The Maid had saved the situation.

Jeanne had an ally in the popular preacher, Brother Richard. She herself says that the people of Troyes (who thought her an idiot, as they wrote to the people of Reims) really deemed her a fiend. They sent Brother Richard, whom she had never seen before, with holy water to exorcise her. When he came within the range of his clerical artillery, he threw the water at her and made the sign of the cross. She answered, laughing, "Take heart and come on! I will not fly away." She had faced holy water before, at Vaucouleurs. According to a report which reached La Rochelle, Brother Richard knelt before the Maid as if she were some holy thing. She herself then knelt, meaning that she claimed no more sanctity than his own. The Brother then went into the town and preached some enthusiastic nonsense. The Maid, he said, could lift all the army over the walls, apparently as the father of Alexandre Dumas threw an assaulting force, man by man, over a palisade. If all this is true, and if the people of Troyes were

foolish enough to believe Brother Richard, he was a useful man in his station. Later he became troublesome, attempting to direct Jeanne, who never in her life allowed herself to be directed by any of his shaven sort, and who had directed *him*.

The King entered the town (July 9) in splendour. He forbade pillaging. The Maid held a child at the font in baptism, as she was frequently asked to do. The boys she named Charles, to the girls she gave her own name. If the march to Reims was a military error, she saved it from being a ludicrous fiasco. No historical verdict is so false as that which pronounces her to have been a dreamy visionary, "perpetually hallucinated," and seldom fully conscious of her surroundings. She displayed triumphant sense and resolution. Her feat of marching to Reims and taking the towns on the road was one which, in the following years, Burgundy advised the Duke of Bedford not to attempt to imitate, it was too difficult and perilous.

From Troyes the Archbishop of Reims wrote to the people of his town, bidding them to submit. The next important stage was Châlons. The Bishop submissively met the Dauphin, who entered the town on July 14. Here the Maid met a Domremy man, Jean Morel, to whom she gave a red robe which she herself was wearing. She also met Gérardin d'Epinal, whom, at Domremy, she had disliked for his Burgundian politics. "I would tell you something, *compère*, if you were not Burgundian," she had once said to him at home. She meant the fact of her mission, but he thought she alluded to her approaching marriage, perhaps with the ambitious young man who haled her before the official at Toul. At Châlons she said to d'Epinal that she "feared nothing but betrayal." We do not know whether she meant treachery in the field, or, as she had too good reason to fear, in diplomacy. She may already have known that the Dauphin's Council were about to entangle her in fraudulent negotiations for peace. The people of Châlons now wrote to their friends of Reims, saying that they had given up the keys of their town, and that the King was gentle, compassionate, and handsome, *belle personne*.

On July 16 the Dauphin halted at Sept-Saulx and received a deputation from Reims. They were full of loyalty, and he marched into their town. Throughout the night the priests and people were busily preparing for the coronation. The *sainte ampoule* with the holy oil of St. Remigius was polished and, we may presume, replenished. The cathedral treasury was ransacked for a crown: Charles was apt to pawn the *fleurons* of his crown, and for that or some other reason did not bring it with him to Reims.

A curious point arises here in connection with the crown. On the fifth of her examinations by her judges (March 1, 1431), a great effort was made to extract from her "the King's secret," the "sign given to the King," at Chinon, in March 1429. She refused to answer, saying, "Go and ask him." She was then asked, "Had her King a crown when he was at Reims?" The judges had heard some story about a crown, and they seem to have thought that it was connected with the King's secret.

The Maid answered, "As I believe, the King gladly received that crown which he found at Reims, but later a very rich crown was brought to him. And he did this" (he put up with the crown in the cathedral treasury of Reims) "so as to hasten his business, and at the request of the people of the town, who wished to avoid the burden of providing for the army." Charles, in fact, was crowned on July 17, on the day after his arrival, and had to use the crown in the treasury. "And, if he had waited," said Jeanne, "he would have had a crown of a thousand-fold richer." This richer crown was brought to him too late for the ceremony (*fuit ei apportata post ipsum*). The King, in fact, remained for several days at Reims, and the rich crown may have been brought to him there, or later. There is nothing symbolical or mystic in the Maid's replies as regards this piece of jewelry. Father Ayroles, however, supposed that she spoke allegorically about the increase of power which the King would have received after his consecration, if, in place of returning to the Loire, he had listened to the Maid,—and marched on Paris.

This is an impossible theory; for, not to mention other objections, the King *did* get the rich crown, though not in time for the ceremony; while, of all things, the Maid wished him not to wait at Reims, but to march on the capital. M. Anatole France gives a different explanation. "In one of her dreams Jeanne had seen herself giving a splendid crown to her King; she expected to see this crown brought into the church by heavenly messengers."

For this M. France cites a passage which contains not a word about the matter. He later returns to the subject, and insists that Jeanne went about telling cock-and-bull stories of how she gave a crown to the King.

Still, the judges had heard something about a crown and a secret, whence came their interrogation. Now, in an Italian news-letter of mid-July 1429, a letter full of fabulous horrors and a massacre at Auxerre, there is a curious tale. The Maid demanded from the Bishop of Clermont, Chancellor in 1428, a crown, that of St. Louis, which, she declared, was in his possession. The Bishop said (like M. France) that "she had dreamed a false dream" (*s'aveva mal insoniado*). Again the Maid asked for the crown,—and a heavy shower of hail fell at Clermont. A third time she wrote to the people of Clermont. A worse thing would befall them if the crown were not restored. She described the precise fashion and form of the crown; and the Bishop, seeing that all was known, "ordered the crown to be sent to the King and the Maid." M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, editor of these Italian news-letters, remarks that by "the Bishop of Clermont," ex-Chancellor, the actual Chancellor, the Archbishop of Reims, is meant. "Is the story," he asks, "the deformation of some unknown fact, neglected by contemporary witnesses, which instantly won its way into legend?"

This appears, from the evidence of Jeanne just cited, to be the true explanation. There was a rich crown which was not present at the coronation, but was later brought to the King. She added that, without committing perjury, she could not say whether she had seen that crown or not.

It is a pleasing and romantic hypothesis that Jeanne, thanks to

Photo. Braun Clément et Cie

Charles VII.

her Voices, detected the Archbishop of Reims in keeping back, to serve his private ends, a crown of which he had possession, and made him restore the jewel, though not in time for the coronation. He was thought avaricious, and is said to have shown that "good old gentlemanly vice" on this occasion.

Among the gifts bestowed by the King on the Chapter of Reims after his sacring, were a vase of silver and a purse containing thirteen newly struck golden medals. In 1664, La Colombière writes that he has seen a golden medal struck after the coronation, in honour of Jeanne, with the device of the Maid, a hand holding a sword, and the inscription *Consilio firmata Dei* (strong in the counsel of God). The medal was possibly struck *for* the coronation, and examples may have been given to the Chapter of Reims. These gifts to the Chapter the Archbishop seized as his own perquisites, but restored them on September 5, when it was demonstrated by precedents that they were the property of the Chapter.

It does not follow that the Archbishop was also keeping back a rich Royal jewel, a crown, and was obliged to restore it after the ceremony. But there was a secret in the affair, though the secret seems to peep out in the Italian news-letter with mythical embroidery. If Jeanne knew, and revealed to the King, the secret of this Jackdaw of Reims, it is no marvel that the Archbishop later attacked her character.

The important fact, however, hitherto unnoticed, is, that Jeanne, seeing the minds of her judges running on a crown and a secret, at her trial (*after* the examination of March 1), veiled the actual King's secret in an allegory about a crown brought by an angel. We here find the origin of the allegory, it was suggested by the interrogatories; and she succeeded in concealing the King's secret.

The ceremony of the coronation began at nine o'clock of the morning of July 17. It is described in a letter of that day, sent by Pierre de Beauvais and two other gentlemen to the Queen and the Queen of Sicily. "A right fair thing it was to see that fair mystery, for it was as solemn and as well adorned with all things thereto pertaining, as if it had been ordered a year before." First,

all in armour, and with banners displayed, the Maréchal de Boussac, with de Rais, Gravile, and the Admiral, and a great company, rode to meet the Abbot, who brought the *sainte ampoule*. They rode into the minster, and alighted at the entrance to the choir. The Archbishop of Reims administered the Coronation oath, he crowned and anointed the King; while all the people cried *Noël!* "and the trumpets sounded so that you might think the roofs would be rent. And always during that mystery the Maid stood next the King, her standard in her hand. A right fair thing it was to see the goodly manners of the King and the Maid." D'Albret held the Sword of State; d'Alençon dubbed the King a Knight: Guy de Laval was created a Count. When the Dauphin had been crowned and consecrated, the Maid kneeling, embraced his knees, weeping for joy, and saying these words, "Gentle King, now is accomplished the Will of God, who decreed that I should raise the siege of Orleans and bring you to this city of Reims to receive your solemn sacring, thereby showing that you are the true King, and that France should be yours."

"And right great pity came upon all those who saw her, and many wept."

Nunc dimittis!

Great pity came upon all who saw her, and heard her simple words. She had, in less than three months, fulfilled the dream of her sacred childhood; she had accomplished the tasks which, Dunois says, were all that she seriously professed to be in her mission.

Nunc dimittis!

The shadow had already begun to go back on the dial. She was no more to be accepted and trusted: the politicians took the game in hand, and slow was the deliverance of France that the deliverer foretold and foresaw, but never saw.

Thwarted as she was by the King and Council, she could not take Paris. But how can we sufficiently admire the acuteness of historical critics who maintain that Jeanne was a mere visionary, one of a feeble folk; that she accomplished nothing which was not easily to be done. In March the cause of the Dauphin

and of Orleans had seemed, to disinterested observers, desperate. Could they have read Bedford's despatches to his Government they would have known that it was not so. But, in the eyes of Dunois himself, England must win by mere prestige. The line of the Loire must be broken, Orleans must fall, the Dauphin must be driven from town to town. The Maid came, and in less than three months it was Bedford who thought the cause of England all but desperate. The Maid came and won the race to Reims, where the English desired to crown their child King. The prestige of Charles was so enhanced that, despite his delays, the *fainéant* recovered towns around Paris, and so nearly choked the life-breath of the capital. These towns were not lost again; the blows dealt by the impulse of the Maid, according to Bedford's own evidence, given four years later, were paralysing, and were practically fatal. Jeanne dealt these blows by dint of that unparalleled force of will, that tenacity of purpose, which could not exist in the puzzled "ductible" girl, *ondoyante et diverse*, easily led, easily "directed," easily distracted, who does duty for Jeanne d'Arc in the fancy of some modern historians.

A curious little domestic incident occurred at Reims. The father of the Maid, Jacques d'Arc, came hither to see his daughter in her glory, and received a considerable present in money from the King. Jacques appears to have thought that he could get more enjoyment for his money in Reims, a town famous for its wines, than at home in Domremy. So he stayed on till September 18, taking his ease at his inn, *l'Ane Rayé*. The good town then paid his bill to Alice Moreau, a widow who kept the hostelry in front of the Cathedral, and a horse was provided for his journey back to Domremy.

One cannot but suspect that there were convivial elements in the character of this austere sire.

Note

The Italian news-writer represents the Bishop of Clermont (meaning the Archbishop of Reims) as keeping back the crown

of St. Louis. The only crown of St. Louis known to me is now in the possession of the Royal family of Saxony: it was given by the Saint to the Dominicans of Liège. There are eight heavy fleurons of gold, with an angel in silver between each of them. It contained a piece of the true Cross, and is richly studded with rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and Græco-Roman gems. Is it conceivable that the Dominicans of Liège sent this crown to be used at the coronation, but that it came too late? There is a copy of it in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CAMPAIGN OF DUPES

THE shadow fell across the path of the Maid and of de Laval, d'Alençon, and the rest of her friends, on the very day of the coronation (July 17). It had been intended that the King should on July 18 march against Paris. Bedford knew this, as we saw, and announced the fact to the English Council in London. On July 17, at Reims, Pierre de Beauvais sent the same tidings to the Queen of France and her mother.

But on this very day of July 17 came to Reims an embassy from the Duke of Burgundy, professedly to negotiate peace. Beauvais announced the arrival of the embassy; Pope Pius II describes it in his Memoirs. The Maid herself had been anxious for peace with Burgundy; with the English there could be no peace, she said, till they returned to their own country. Her ideas on that subject were perfectly clear; not so those of her King and his foolish advisers. They were the dupes of a dream about peace with England. Jeanne had written to the Duke on June 27, and her letter had been slighted; she dictated another letter to him from Reims on the day of the coronation. "Jeanne the Maid desires you, High and redoubtable Prince, in the name of the King of Heaven, her rightful Lord, to make a long, good, and assured peace with the King of France. . . . Prince of Burgundy, in all humility I pray, implore, and beseech you to make war no more on the holy kingdom of France. . . . All those who fight against the holy kingdom of France fight against the Lord Jesus, King of Heaven and of the whole world. . . . I

pray and beseech you with joined hands, war not against us. . . . The Joan of Arc of Shakespeare may be more eloquent, but not more earnest.

> "See, see the pining malady of France;
> Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds,
> Which thou thyself hast given her woful breast!
> Oh, turn thy edgèd sword another way;
> Strike those that hurt, and hurt not those that help!"

The Duke was not the man to heed the Maid, and the peace which she desired was a fatal diplomatic deception. Charles wasted four days at Reims with the Burgundian envoys (till July 21), while Cardinal Beaufort on July 15 was marching his 3500 Englishmen from Calais to Paris. Bedford had hastened from Paris to meet them. Already the Duke of Burgundy was concentrating and equipping forces to hold Paris against the King: he acknowledged, on July 8, the receipt of 20,000 *livres tournois* from the English Council. On July 14 he had the old story of the murder of Jean sans Peur raked up in a great assembly in Paris; the populace was stirred to hatred of Charles VII; the Duke lamented his bereavement, and all swore loyalty to Bedford. Three days later the Duke's envoys were pretending to make peace with Charles VII at Reims! It seems incredible that King and Council could be deceived by such open dissimulation. Burgundy was concentrating his army near Amiens. By July 25, Bedford and his English army had entered Paris. Burgundy, while pretending to make peace, was sending to Bedford recruits from Picardy.

Three invaluable days had been stolen by Burgundy, and the unhappy assembly of a Convention at Arras, for Franco-Burgundian negotiations in August, had probably been mooted. At this Convention, or later, airy promises were held up to Charles. England might come into the peace, and restore to France the captive Duc d'Orléans! It appears that French forces had extorted a delayed capitulation from Evreux, the key of Normandy, in June–July; but the French delays, and the expeditious tactics

of Bedford, ruined this opportunity, itself due, probably, to the energy of the Constable and La Hire.

Leaving Reims, then, on July 21, the King and the Maid, after the traditional journey to St. Marcoul, where Charles touched for "the King's evil" (scrofula), entered Soissons on July 23. "The Maid," says de Cagny, "caused the King to advance on Paris." Meanwhile the important town of Compiègne, north-east of Paris, a place as strong as Orleans, had been summoned (July 22–25) and was negotiating its surrender, as was Château Thierry, ten leagues south of Paris, a town valuable for its fortified bridge across the Marne. A network of rivers surrounded the army, and to secure the bridges was all important. Yet from Soissons the army, under the deplorable influence of the King's favourites, was to beat a retreat towards his beloved lurking-places on the Loire. They had every intention of deserting the great enterprise, already rendered more arduous by the English reinforcement of Paris.

On August 1, Charles crossed the Marne at Château Thierry He did not march on Compiègne, ready as it was to receive him, or through the plains of the Valois, by Crépy and Senlis; he turned due south, towards his dear Loire, as he would have fallen back on the Loire from Troyes if the Maid had not terrified Troyes into a capitulation. He stayed at Château Thierry from July 29 to August 1: on the last day of July, "in favour and at the request of our beloved Jeanne the Maid," he granted remission of taxation to her native villages, Domremy and Greux. This boon endured into the reign of Louis XV.

"Turning first the flank then the rear of his army towards Paris, dragging with him the despairing Maid, the King headed for the Loire." On August 2 he was at Provins, and might hope to secure, for his southward retreat, the bridge of Bray, above Montereau. Hereabouts he dawdled till August 5 or 6.

The Maid's emotions are expressed in a letter to Reims, dated "August 5, on the Paris road." She tries to reassure the folk of Reims, in face of the fears naturally caused by the southward march

of the King, deserting his own cause, and leaving Reims, Soissons, and other cities at the mercy of Burgundy. "Dear and good friends, good and loyal Frenchmen, the Maid sends you news of her . . . never will I abandon you while I live. True it is that the King has made a fifteen days' truce with the Duke of Burgundy, who is to give up to him the town of Paris peacefully on the fifteenth day."

The date of this armistice and promise is unknown. Could Charles and his advisers, dupes as they were, be so easily gulled by the Duke of Burgundy; and if they did expect him to surrender Paris in a few days, why were they heading for the Loire? Or did they tell a false tale to the Maid merely for the purpose of soothing her? She was not always an easy dupe, as she showed in the case of the concealed tactics of a feint on St. Laurent, at Orleans; nor was she deceived now. "Although the truce is made, I am not content, and am not certain that I will keep it. If I do, it will be merely for the sake of the King's honour, and in case they do not deceive the blood royal, for I will keep the King's army together and in readiness, at the end of the fifteen days, if peace is not made." She did that. She bids the people of Reims to trust her, to be of good heart, and to let her know if there are traitors among them.

She takes a very high tone, as the accredited emissary of Heaven. Every one told her that she had brought the army together (as, in fact, she was the cause of its gathering); and though it was the King's army, she speaks as if she were superior in authority. In fact, it was she, with the young knights who loved and stood by her, that did keep the army together. If her tone seems too high, let us remember that she was only a girl of seventeen, and that, apart from her intercourse with heavenly beings, her successes had been unparalleled, while her ideas were those of sound common sense: military and political tactics alike dictated a march on Paris; but the first principles of war were disregarded by her deluded King. It has been asserted that "the army was starving, and found no supplies in these ravaged plains and

pillaged cities. Want of food caused the preparations to retreat and regain Poitou." But "food never failed while the Maid was in the field during this campaign," says a contemporary. The explanation of the designed retreat thus explains nothing, and nothing in the character of Charles's master, La Trémoïlle, makes it improbable that he had been bought by the Duke of Burgundy, with whom his kinsfolk were in close relations. As for the Duke, far from intending to hand over Paris to the King, he was aiding Bedford, as we saw, both with men and money, and "calling in great armed levies of his subjects and allies."

The tactics of the Maid were the only right tactics: no inspiration was needed to conceive them. But she could not save her King against his will, nor would she raise her standard against his will. By August 3, Reims had taken alarm, had learned that Charles meant to desert the path to Paris, and on August 4, Reims sent the news to Châlons and Laon.

It is an extraordinary proof of the casual ways of war in the fifteenth century, that little or no attention was being paid to the fortifications of Paris. Ever since Pathay (June 18) the city had lain open to a *coup de main*. Bedford had shown a fretting anxiety; his letters to the English Privy Council reveal it, especially his letter of July 16. But it is not till the first week of September that the Journal of a clerkly Burgundian in Paris (usually called the *Bourgeois de Paris*) contains an entry of a really serious beginning made in strengthening the gates and the outworks or boulevards.

From Paris, on August 3, Cardinal Beaufort, with his personal attendants, set out on the return to Rouen. The journey, if the French leaders had shown the slightest energy in sending out mounted patrols, ought to have brought Beaufort into their hands. On August 4, Bedford assumed the offensive defensive, and led the Cardinal's crusaders against the French army in Brie. By the dawn of August 6, Charles, indisposed to meet Bedford, was in the neighbourhood of Provins, intending to cross the Seine by the bridge of Bray. But, during the night, Bedford's men had occupied the bridge-head with a strong Anglo-Burgundian force.

The party of Jeanne, including René, Duc de Bar, who had joined the King, the Comte de Vendôme, and Guy de Laval, were glad that the retreat to the Loire was cut off, "for the determination to retreat was contrary to their will and desire," and to the tactics of "the other captains and leaders."

Against their will the favourites of the King now found themselves marching nearer Paris, back to Château Thierry, and to Crépy-en-Valois and Ferté. The people, says Dunois, came out to welcome their King with joyous cries of *Noël!* (August 10–11). According to a modern critic, "if the little saint (Jeanne) had listened at the doors of their unfurnished houses," she would have found them grumbling that "it was better to serve Saracens than Christians," so miserable was their condition, so wretched and ruined was their country. The records of the chapel of St. Catherine at Fierbois teem, indeed, with stories of the cruelties of war, during a century; the veil is lifted, and forgotten miseries are displayed. But the people of the Valois may well have believed that the King and the Maid had come, as by miracle, to end their sorrows, which really were to stretch in front of them and their descendants, while the Royal was at war with the feudal power.

In any case, between Crépy and Ferté the Maid was riding between Dunois and the Archbishop of Reims. "Here is a good people," she said, being as hopeful as themselves. "Never have I seen any so glad of the coming of the noble King. Would that I, when my time comes, were so fortunate as to be buried in their country";—she that was never to receive "the dear, the desired embraces of our Mother Earth!"

"Jeanne, in what place do you expect to die?" asked the Archbishop, who may have thought that she supposed herself to have had knowledge from her Counsel. Legends were current of a prophecy of her own that she would fall in battle in the Holy Land. Her only prediction as to herself was that she "would *last* but a year or little more," not that she would die.

"Where God pleases," said she, who, had she known, would none the less have gone to meet her fate. "I know not the hour

or the place more than you know. And would that it were God's pleasure that I might now lay down my arms and go back to serve my father and mother, in keeping their sheep, with my sister and my brothers, that would be right glad to see me."

Two of the Maid's brothers had been with her since her military enterprise began, and we do not learn that she had a sister living, though at Ceffonds she had a brother and a sister-in-law, often styled "sister" in these days. The memory of Dunois must have been imperfect. She did not say (nor does Dunois make her say) that she thought her mission was ended. She never looked on it as ended; could she have escaped from prison at any time in 1431, she would have taken up arms again. But in that hour she wished that God's will had set her free to return to her father and mother. It was a natural and touching sentiment, which, among the thwarting delays of the politicians, may often have filled her heart. For more than a year, nay, for ever, she was engaged in one unceasing struggle against the disbelief and slackness of men; often she was weary, often in prayer and in tears. But her tenacity was indomitable; by mere force of will she had dragged her King to victory; her will was perhaps the greatest marvel among the many marvellous endowments of this girl of seventeen.

The abjectly sluggish character of the King was at this time as far below as the energy of the Maid was above the ordinary level. He received from Bedford a letter of calculated brutality, charged with insults which might have fired the heart of a coward. Bedford had the insolence to accuse Charles of being the cause of all the misery in France, of all the wretchedness produced by the groundless claims of England. He challenged the King to name a place of meeting, in the Brie country where both armies then were, or in the Ile de France. He addresses his royal enemy as, "you who were wont to style yourself Dauphin, and now call yourself King." He upbraids Charles with the crime of Montereau; he reproaches him with leading about "defamed and superstitious folk, a woman without character and disorderly in her life, dressed like a man, and an apostate and mendicant friar"; (Brother Richard) "both,

according to Holy Scripture, are hateful to God." The men of the House of Lancaster, who rose to the throne by robbery and murder, hoped to retain it by religious persecution. Perhaps no hypocrite is consciously hypocritical, and the thieves of two crowns were valiant men and deeply religious.

In this letter, obviously written for the purpose of forcing Charles to fight in open field, or rather, perhaps, with the design of inducing him to repeat the wild charge of Rouvray against a fortified camp, Bedford certainly did nothing to increase the terrors of his own soldiers, as has been strangely argued. It has been said that Bedford transforms the Maid "into a superhuman creature, terrible, appalling, a phantom risen from hell, before whom the bravest might have turned pale." Bedford was not so foolish. He spoke of the Maid not as a phantom from hell, but as a dissolute superstitious virago in male dress. In private, as when he much later (1433) addressed the English Government, he attributes the disasters of their armies to "unlawful doubt that they had of a disciple and *lyme* of the Fiend, called the Pucelle, that used false enchantment and sorcery. The which stroke and discomfiture not only lessened in great part the number of your people there" (at Orleans), "but as well withdrew the courage of the remnant in marvellous wise, and encouraged your adverse party and enemy to assemble them forthwith in great number." The English, since the beginning of May, had constantly assured the Maid that they would burn her whenever they could catch her. This threat merely increased her eagerness to meet that amiable and pious people at the closest possible quarters. "I cry, 'Go in among the English, and I go in myself!'" But her King was not to be stung by insults into any such valour.

Bedford wrote to Charles from Montereau, which he left on August 7, returning to Paris. The French army on August 13 was between Crépy and Paris; the English army lay between Paris and Dammartin. From August 14 to August 16 the forces faced each other, the English resting on Senlis, which they still held; the French on the height of Montépilloy, on the road from

Crépy to Senlis. On the evening of August 14, d'Alençon, Vendôme, the Maid, and other captains, with some 6000 men, passed the night at Montépilloy. The English are reckoned at from 8000 to 9000. A few slight skirmishes resulted in the evening. Next day the French heard Mass in the fields (it was the day of the Assumption of the Virgin), and rode forth, expecting battle. La Hire led a force of cavalry, but they found the English in an entrenched and palisaded laager, with a river as a moat in the rear. Bedford, after all, was not anxious for a chivalrous engagement in fair field. He had the advantage of numbers as well as of a fortified position, and probably hoped to tempt the French to renew the gallant blunder of Rouvray. But the French were not so foolish as to attack a stronger force behind earthworks and palisades, nor could they tempt the English to leave their hold except by way of skirmishing.

"When the Maid saw that the English would not sally forth, she rode standard in hand to the front and smote the English palisade." They were not to be stung into action, and she withdrew the advanced guard to the main body of the French army. D'Alençon and she sent a message that they would retire and give the English a fair field to deploy in: the English did not accept the offer; and probably Monstrelet refers to this when he says that she was always in two minds, on this occasion, now to fight, again, not to fight. How Monstrelet knew what was in her mind he does not inform us. In fact, Jeanne would fight in fair field, precisely as Talbot offered to fight the French, if they would come down from their hill, on the eve of Pathay. She would not ask a weaker force to charge the fortifications of a larger army. De Cagny, who describes the events, usually makes d'Alençon and the Maid the prominent personages. Chartier, the official chronicler, gives the command of the largest corps to d'Alençon and Vendôme; René, Duc de Bar, the Maréchaux de Rais and de Boussac also had commands; the advance guard, which alone was active, was led by the Maid, d'Albret, Dunois, La Hire, and other captains. The King was—within view, ably protected by the heroic Charles

de Bourbon and the corpulent La Trémoïlle. A great deal of smoke veiled the skirmishes, which ended at nightfall. James IV of Scotland, had he been where Charles was, would have fought the foremost in fight, and would have won a glorious death at the expense of a decisive defeat.

It has been suggested that the Maid was in two minds about fighting, because it was the Feast of the Assumption! Men of the sword fought when they could, though the judges of the Maid hypocritically blamed her for attacking Paris during a festival of the Church.

Bedford next day led his army to Paris, and thence moved north to secure Evreux, the key of Normandy, where French partisans, probably headed by the Constable, were active and dangerous (August 27). The King and the Maid, between August 18 and August 22, received the submission of Compiègne, Senlis, and Beauvais, driving out the Bishop, Pierre Cauchon, who soon took "a contented revenge." At this date Monstrelet places the pacific mission of the Archbishop of Reims to the Duke of Burgundy at Arras. The Archbishop was duped as usual, and time was wasted. But the cities gained by the Maid were never lost, and greatly endangered Paris.

At Compiègne, Charles dallied, and (August 28) involved himself in the tangles of truces with Burgundy. While consolidating his power in Normandy, Bedford left, to keep Paris, 2000 Englishmen, with his Chancellor of France, Louis de Luxembourg. The King's chief gain was Compiègne, which proved as tenaciously loyal, and as sharp a thorn in the side of the English, as Orleans. The people chose as commandant Guillaume de Flavy, who did his duty by them well; but Charles preferred La Trémoïlle, who, by one account, managed to fall off his horse in a skirmish at Montépilloy, and there unluckily escaped capture. De Flavy did the active work as commandant, La Trémoïlle probably drew the lion's share of the pay.

While the King and his circle were negotiating with Burgundy the strange truces to be later described; while Vendôme was

taking in the city of Senlis, which Bedford did not attempt to defend, "The Maid was in sorrow for the King's long tarrying at Compiègne; and it seemed that he was content, in his usual way, with the grace that God had done him, and would make no further enterprise," says the d'Alençon chronicler.

We can penetrate the counsels of the King, always afraid to fight, always hoping to buy off the Duke of Burgundy. It was the policy of the Archbishop of Reims, and for that matter of the Maid, to detach from the English cause the great feudatory of France, the Duke of Burgundy, to make peace between all French subjects. It was the policy of Burgundy to balance the powers of France and England, and to increase his own territories at French expense. It was the policy of La Trémoïlle to keep Charles in his own hand: therein lay his safety from his many foes. But as Burgundy was aiding England in every way, a secure peace with him could only be obtained "at the point of the lance."

The day before Jeanne left Compiègne for the attack on Paris, a fatal incident occurred. She received a letter from the Comte d'Armagnac, asking her advice as to who was the genuine Pope. She ought to have answered this question as she had answered the medical inquiries of the Duc de Loraine, "It is not in my province." Martin V was Pope, but d'Armagnac had a private scheme for backing a successor of the anti-Pope Benedict XIII, and had been recently excommunicated by Martin. It may be that d'Armagnac thought to cover his return to Martin by the approval of the Maid, who had no time to consider his letter of explanation, but dictated a reply with her foot in the stirrup. The Comte had mentioned three possible Popes; if Jeanne had a clerical secretary (she had one Mathelin Raoul, a clerk, but a fighting man, wearing armour), he could have told her that only Martin was genuine. But she answered that she could give no solution of the problem at the moment, nor till she was at peace in Paris or elsewhere. He must then send a messenger, "And I will let you know in whom you must believe, after I have knowledge from the Counsel of my sovereign Lord the King

of Heaven." Jeanne dictated her reply hastily and without reflection.

Her judges could, and later they did, find her guilty of extreme presumption. The clerks held that the Church knew who was the true Pope, and Jeanne had no right to pretend to private information from Heaven. Her intention, no doubt, was merely to return a civil reply to a great prince, but the appearance of her words was valuable to her enemies. At her trial, when asked whom she took to be true Pope, she asked "Are there two Popes?" She remembered little about her letter, and had said other things to Armagnac's messenger, whom the soldiers were anxious to drown, probably because he was wasting their time. Her mind was full of warlike projects. She therefore said to the Duc d'Alençon, as she had said at Orleans before the attack on Meun, "My fair Duke, make ready your men and the men of the other captains, for, by my staff (*par mon martin*), I wish to see Paris nearer than I have seen it yet." This lady's oath (*par mon martin*) is often put in the Maid's lips by the d'Alençon chronicler, d'Cagny, who, dictating his chronicle seven years later, relied on comparatively recent memories, his own and those of his chief and their friends: probably, too, he had information from d'Aulon.

On August 23, d'Alençon and the Maid, with a fair company of men-at-arms, left the King at Compiègne and joined hands with Vendôme and the force which had secured Senlis. On August 26 they reached St. Denys, the city of the patron saint of France, whose name was the warcry of France, whose cathedral was the burial-place of her kings, and contained one of the two heads of the Martyr. Either head might be regarded with devotion, neither was held to be necessarily more authentic than the other. We are reminded of the several lace caps, each believed by its proprietor to have been worn by Charles I at his execution. In the Abbey of Saint Denys lay, unless Bedford had removed it to safer quarters, the crown of Charlemagne. At St. Denys, which was deserted by people of Anglo-Burgundian opinions, the Maid stood godmother to two little Armagnacs, holding them at the font.

When the Maid had fixed her headquarters at St. Denys, the King ruefully departed from Compiègne to Senlis; "it seemed that he was advised against her and the Duc d'Alençon and their company." It appears that Bedford now withdrew the English garrison of Paris, leaving the town in Burgundian hands.

There were daily skirmishes with the forces in Paris, now in one place and now in another. The Maid reconnoitred the great town daily, searching with d'Alençon for a point of assault, while d'Alençon implored the King to come to St. Denys, going to him again and again. It was of the first necessity that he should show himself before his capital; but he evaded the duty. Meanwhile, on August 28, at Compiègne, an armistice had been concluded between Charles and the Duke of Burgundy: the English had the right of adhering to it if they chose. The Duke was allowed to take under his safeguard all Picardy adjacent to his own northern marches, from the Oise to the sea. Charles had leave to attack Paris, but the Duke might aid the English with Burgundian forces in the town. This is an unintelligible arrangement, the King of France sanctioning the Duke in keeping him, for the sake of England, out of his own capital. But Charles hoped that he had bribed Burgundy with the loan of the town of Compiègne,—which refused to be lent.

The armistice of Compiègne (August 28) was to last till Christmas Day, and was later prolonged till mid-March or mid-April 1430. Charles, we repeat, actually tried to place Compiègne in the hands of Burgundy during the truce, because "he desired to gratify the said Duke, and withdraw him from the English alliance." The Archbishop of Reims and the rest of Charles' advisers could not induce the people of Compiègne to submit to this proposal. We see the facility of the King and his advisers, ready to purchase the goodwill of Burgundy and the security of his English allies on any terms, even permitting him to hold and defend Paris. In this treaty "Burgundy played the part of cunning trickster; France, the part of dupe." Monstrelet, the Burgundian chronicler avers that Charles had only to present

himself at Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, and many other towns and castles, and to be welcomed by the majority of the inhabitants. Yet these towns were included in the armistice of Compiègne. Never were mortals so easily beguiled as the King and his favourites. They may have hoped that the possession of Compiègne by Burgundy would estrange Bedford from him, as the offer of Orleans, in March–April, had so done to some extent. But Compiègne would not play into their hands.

To explain the Burgundian motives, it is shown that, had Bedford remained in Paris with his English garrison, the people hated the English so much that they would have surrendered to Charles. They might not have found it so easy to do that; but, Paris being in Burgundian hands, and the strongest civic party being Burgundian, they would resist their enemies, "the Armagnacs."

It may be argued that these astonishing surrenders by Charles, this deliberate rejection of the impetus lent to loyal Frenchmen by the events since May, were intended to lead up to a congress for a general peace,—a congress at which England would be represented, while Burgundy would be favourable to France. But any such successful pacification was a far wilder dream than those which visited the Maid at Domremy. Actual inspiration could not speak words more true than she uttered before her judges. "As to peace with the English, the only peace possible is their return to their own country in England, *ad patriam suam in Anglia*." "There is more in the books of my Lord than in the books of the clerks"; and this part of the books of the Lord was legible to those who knew not A from B. The counsellors of Charles could not read in them. "What advantage could King Charles find in recognising the rights of his cousin of Burgundy over Paris? We cannot see that clearly," says an historian who does not favour the wisdom of the Maid. The wise were easy dupes; later, as we shall find, Charles told the people of Reims that (where Jeanne had been in the right, in July 1429) he had been fooled till May 1430. In Paris it was supposed that, on August 13, Bedford resigned the Regency of France to Burgundy, while retaining the Governorship of Normandy. In

fact, Burgundy was, on October 13, 1426, made Lieutenant of Paris and of many other cities for Henry VI.

After August 28 the King of France, to conciliate the Duke of Burgundy, recognised him as holding Paris against the Maid, while the Maid was allowed to attack Paris. Her victory in these circumstances would have been a miracle, and an event most untoward for her King, whose sole aim was to conciliate the Duke of Burgundy. Charles, therefore, prevented the accomplishment of the miracle. Among the many marvels of the year 1429, the diplomacy of Charles VII was, perhaps, the most abnormal.

Of course, all parties to these strange treaties were trying to deceive each other. The more warlike members of the Council of Charles may have trusted to the chance of a military miracle: Paris *might* fall in a day, like the Tourelles at Orleans: only one day was allowed for the storming of Paris! The inner circle of the Council clearly thought that no sacrifice was too great to offer at the shrine of Burgundy, and they did offer the Maid and her prestige. The evidence for all this is irrefutable. Moreover, during the weeks passed in being mocked and deceived, the money for the support of the army was wasted.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FAILURE AT PARIS

CONCERNING the attack of the Royal army on Paris, all authorities, friendly or hostile, agree that it was a failure only redeemed by the splendid courage and tenacity of the Maid. On few other points is there agreement. We shall prefer the evidence of Jeanne herself, and of a cool observer within the walls of Paris. By both sides in the struggle there was an exhibition of the absent-minded fashion in which war was understood. "The Maid was never consulted," says a recent historian. On this occasion she manifestly was not obeyed, for she understood war better than the leaders, as will be shown.

The citizens and clergy of Paris had been sworn by Bedford to loyalty on July 14, and again by the Chancellor of France under Bedford, Louis de Luxembourg, on August 26. Yet we have already seen that the members of the town militia did not begin to fortify their gates and outworks till early in September. On September 7 the Anglo-Burgundian Government raised money from the burgesses and ecclesiastics for the payment of the garrison, which appears to have been mainly Burgundian. A considerable garrison there must have been; but even this is denied by a Burgundian writer, the "Bourgeois de Paris." D'Alençon had summoned the chief citizens by name to surrender, but they laughed at his letter.

If we follow a Burgundian narrator, then in the city, the force of the King, under d'Alençon, de Laval, de Gaucourt, d'Albret, de Rais, Boussac, and the rest, consisted of 12,000 men, who certainly did not all come into action. They had great quantities

of waggons, charged with faggots and other things wherewith to fill up the moat; but it is certain that, by a strange ignorance of war, the attack was made only at one point, between the gates St. Honoré and St. Denys. We hear of no attack, or even feint elsewhere, though d'Alençon had bridged the Seine above Paris, and common sense dictated an assault, or at least a feint, on the south as well as on the north.

The truth is that no serious assault was intended by the leaders. Men in earnest would have posted their guns and material under cloud of night, as the Maid did at Troyes; would have begun the onset with dawn, as the Maid did at the outwork of the Orleans bridge-head. On the other hand, the army did not leave its quarters for Paris till after breakfast, at eight o'clock, and nothing was really attempted till two o'clock in the afternoon. If the leaders were in earnest, they certainly did not understand war as Jeanne understood it. But were they serious? Were their heavy guns ever in action? Was their display of siege material meant for more than a demonstration of force, to encourage a tumult of their partisans within the town? The Maid herself told her judges that she had no orders of the day from her Voices, but "went at the request of the nobles, who desired to make *une escarmouche* or *vaillance*, but *she* was determined to go farther and pass the fosses." The whole conduct or misconduct of the attempt—the late start, the general slackness, the puny attack on a single point, the want of supports in the onslaught (the need of these is emphasised in *Le Jouvencel*, the military romance of the period), corroborate the words of the Maid. She vainly tried to turn a demonstration into an attack driven home.

It may be urged that when she thus spoke at her trial, Jeanne falsely denied having received any special command from her Voices, and falsely reported that the French nobles intended to make no serious attack. Her object would be to save the character of her Saints,—they had not deceived her,—and to minimise the check to the arms of her King. But we have the corroborative testimony of a cool observer *within* the town, the

contemporary notes of Clément de Fauquemberque, clerk of the Parlement of Paris under the English Government. Fauquemberque was a scholar, a man free from ambition. He writes that for fifteen years he had been clerk of Parlement, shunning higher legal office, in the spirit of Virgil's line,

"*Maluit et mutas agitare inglorius artes.*"

Anglo-Burgundian as he was, he closes his brief notes on the career of the Maid with the words, "God have pity and mercy on her soul!" His account of the attempt on Paris agrees perfectly with Jeanne's own version, and deserves to be quoted in full.

"On Thursday, September 8, the Feast of the Nativity of the Mother of God, the soldiers of Messire Charles de Valois assembled in great numbers near the walls of Paris, at the Porte Saint Honoré, *rather hoping by a popular tumult to oppress and injure the town and the inhabitants, than to succeed by force of arms.* About two hours after noon they began to make a semblance of an intention to assail the place. Hastily did some of the enemy at the swine-market and near the gate bring up long bourrées (bundles of wood) and faggots, and throw them into the outer trenches, which were dry; next into the ditches close to the walls, where the water was high." (Either there had been a flood, or the managers of the sluices had admitted a full current of water from the Seine.) "At this moment the disaffected or bribed people in the town raised shouts throughout the whole place on either side of the bridges, yelling that 'all is lost, that the enemy has entered': with cries of *Sauve qui peut!*

"Thereon all the people in the churches at sermon were panic-stricken, and most of them fled to their houses and shut the doors; there was no other commotion. Those who were appointed to that duty stayed on guard on the walls and at the gates, and others, coming up, made strong and good opposition to the men of Charles de Valois, who remained in the outer fosse, and without, at the swine-market, till ten or eleven o'clock. when they departed

with loss, several of them being slain or wounded by gun shot and arrow shot. Among others a woman called the Pucelle, who was one of the leaders for Charles de Valois, was wounded in the leg by an arrow. *The plan of the leaders was rather to injure Paris by a commotion within, than by armed assault*; for had they been four times more numerous than they were, or more, they could not have taken the place either by storm or siege, for it was well supplied with food, and the townsfolk and garrison were perfectly at one in the resistance, as it was reported that Charles de Valois had given up the place to be sacked, ordered a massacre of men and women of all ranks, and would plough the site of a town of Christian people, a thing not easily credible."

This is not a picturesque, but is an authentic account of the events: the attack was neither serious nor supported, but an effort to cause tumult and surrender, a *vaillance* or *escarmouche* The Maid was alone in her determination to force the fighting, as she herself averred. The French then moved as late as eight in the morning of the day of the Nativity of Our Lady, halted at a hill now or lately styled the *Butte des Moulins* or Windmill Hill, and there at the swine-market planted their guns, apparently out of range, behind the hill, at two in the afternoon!

On the walls they could see the English, says Chartier, arrayed under the banner of St. George, though from other accounts the defenders were Burgundian men-at-arms with the townsmen, or the armed townsmen alone save for forty or fifty English. Artillery fire began about two o'clock. In the afternoon the outer boulevard of the Porte Saint Honoré was attacked and was occupied, while the army under d'Alençon and the prudent Charles de Bourbon actually remained out of gunshot behind the hill, to check any *English* sally from the Porte St. Denys. (Yet it is doubtful if the English had a hundred men in the place, while the main body of the French army looked on out of range.)

It was not the wont of the Maid to watch a battle from the rear. She bore her standard through the deep dry moat, and, crossing the intervening space, she plumbed the water moat with

her lance, under fire. The French ignorance of the depth of the water has been attributed to bad scouting; but who could tell, from one day to another, how much water the moat contained? That depended on the engineers of the defence. King Robert the Bruce was a cautious commander, and had investigated the depth of water in the moat of Perth before he attempted a night attack in January 1313. But he, when the assault was made, had to fathom the moat with his lance, exactly as Jeanne did in broad daylight, and Bruce's heavy armed men could only find a ford where the water was throat high.

The assault on Paris on September 8 failed exactly as Saintrailles and Dunois had failed at Jargeau in May, by reason of the deep water in the fosse, and the lack of portable bridges or light boats of any kind. That such boats were used as early as 1429 is not certain. We do not see them in pictures of sieges in the manuscripts of the day. If Poton and Dunois were so improvident at Jargeau, then, supposing that Boussac, d'Alençon, and the rest meant serious work at Paris, they were equally careless. Such things will happen. Napoleon had made no preparations for roughing the shoes of his cavalry horses against the frosts of a Russian campaign. Not a spike was nailed into the English guns at Waterloo by the French cavalry, who had them at their will; not an iron ramrod of a pistol was used to disable our artillery. These were fatal oversights; but at Paris the French leaders had not meant to storm the place: they looked on to see whether or not the Maid's demonstration would be backed by an Armagnac mob within the town.

The day went by as at the Tourelles, the Maid at the fosse, with her standard, in the heat of the fire, calling to the people to yield. According to her judges, she said "surrender to Jesus," according to the hostile "Bourgeois de Paris" she threatened them with massacre. Thereon a bowman, with the coarsest insults, aimed and sent an arrow through her leg, while with another he slew her standard-bearer. She was certainly wounded and placed under cover beside the moat, whence long after

nightfall she kept crying on her men to the charge. But she herself could not move, the supports were far off, out of range, she could not lead them; only her voice pierced the night. Still she called out that the place was theirs for the winning. At length de Gaucourt sent men who carried her out of fire, still protesting that with perseverance Paris would have been taken.

The leaders had not her intentions, had not her tenacity; the army did not come on, support following support, as far as we are informed. The d'Alençon chronicler says that the French had only the slightest losses; he makes a miracle of it; but the Bourgeois avers that they lost five hundred men in killed or wounded; that this was stated on oath by a herald who came next day, to ask leave to bury the dead. He also says, inconsistently, that the dead were carried away and burned. Obviously few of the dead were found by the defenders, who dared not sally out and pursue, as is admitted. "They cursed their Pucelle who had told them that certainly they would storm Paris, and that all who resisted would be put to the sword or burned in their houses." The same Bourgeois witness attributes the triumph to the townsfolk; of men-at-arms, he says there were only forty or fifty English! He was a vine-grower; probably he passed the day in his cellars.

We must find a happy mean between the rival fables of de Cagny and of the Bourgeois. We hear of no losses among the French nobles, of no wounded leader except the Maid. Probably she with the advanced guard and its leader de Rais, was alone actively engaged; d'Alençon came for her, says Chartier, from his safe position out of range. The whole story, as it has reached us, save from Fauquemberque and the Maid, is a mist of contemporary fable. In a Norman chronicle, written, apparently, within a year of the events, we are told that the artillery of Charles VII used noiseless gunpowder!

But, through the mist, one figure stands out clear in the sunlight, discerned alike by friend and foe; a girl of seventeen in white armour, who lets herself down into the deep dry fosse, who climbs out on to the *dos d'âne* under the city wall, and, like

Bruce at Perth, fathoms the water of the great fosse with her lance, under a rain of projectiles, till she is smitten through the thigh. Undaunted, unweakened, she cries on the men. History shows no other such picture.

There is evidence which appears indisputable that the French left behind hundreds of wheel-barrows and of scaling-ladders, with other siege material—which they had not used. But as they were not pursued, and as, but for the King's orders, conveyed by princes of the blood, the Maid would next day have renewed the attack, it is the King, not the Maid, who is to blame for the loss of siege material. The army, returning to its post of September 8, would have recovered its material. But the army was forbidden to return.

Jeanne's military fault, on her own showing, was her tenacious attempt to convert an *escarmouche* or *vaillance*—a display—into a determined attack, as some writers hold that she did, successfully, at St. Loup. She paid for her courage in person and prestige.

Here it must be noted that, concerning the conduct of the Maid at Paris, as later at Compiègne, and indeed from her victory at St. Pierre le Moustier to her capture, her judges brought many charges against her, while in the Trial of Rehabilitation (1450–1456) no witnesses were called in her defence. Pasquerel and d'Aulon were with her to the end; but they were asked no questions on the operations of September 1429, May 1430.

Here is an opening for the *Advocatus Diaboli!* One may venture a conjecture as to the caution of the inquirers of 1450–1456. The Maid at Paris, for example, certainly kept exclaiming that the place was theirs, if the men would exert themselves. She believed, indeed, that it was so, that the place could have been taken. But her prosecutors averred that she proclaimed this to be the monition of her Counsel; and her statement that her Counsel did not urge her forth on September 8 they bluntly described as a lie. They have not left us the depositions of their witnesses, who declared that she appealed to the promises

of her Voices. But Dunois was asked at the Trial of Rehabilitation whether all her military predictions were fulfilled? His reply was, "Though Jeanne sometimes spoke gaily about many matters of war, to raise the spirits of the men, and though perhaps all that she said of this kind was not fulfilled, yet, when she spoke seriously of war, and of her vocation," she confined herself to the relief of Orleans and the coronation. The Commission of 1450–1456 probably did not care to inquire too closely into this question; or to distinguish between such words of encouragement as every leader uses, on one hand, and professedly inspired predictions on the other. Hence, one may guess, the gap in their inquiry. On the other hand, it may have been caused by reluctance to expose the imbecile behaviour of the King from his coronation till the capture of the Maid.

To take Paris was avowedly part of the vocation of the Maid. She had been thwarted by diplomacy, otherwise the place would have fallen; but still she did not despair. Despite her flesh-wound she rose very early on September 9, and begged d'Alençon to sound the trumpets and mount, "for I will never retreat till I have the town." D'Alençon and other captains were of like mind, but counsels were divided. While they were debating, the Baron de Montmorency, previously an adherent of the English, rode up with fifty or sixty gentlemen to join the company of the Maid. Her friends were greatly encouraged; but then arrived Charles de Bourbon, with René, Duc de Bar. They bore the King's orders, the Maid must return to St. Denys.

The other leaders, like her, were summoned, and with heavy hearts they obeyed the Royal command. They still had it in their minds to make a new effort, crossing the Seine by a bridge which d'Alençon had caused to be constructed near St. Denys. On September 10, very early, they rode forth, only to find that by orders of Charles the bridge had been destroyed under cloud of night. Charles employed the next three days in councils of retreat. After dinner on September 13 he abandoned St. Denys, where the Maid, with a breaking heart, left her armour suspended

in the cathedral before a statue of Our Lady. The Royal retreat was hasty and disorderly; by September 21, Charles was in the haven where he would be, dining at Gien on Loire. "And thus," says the d'Alençon chronicler, "were broken the will of the Maid and the army of the King." He had made the great refusal.

His garrison was soon driven out of St. Denys, and the enemy made spoil of the armour of the Maid. The sword of Fierbois had been broken by her, it is said by her application of the flat of the blade to the back of one of the leaguer-lasses with whom she waged war. This tale appears to be a fable. She would not tell her judges what became of the sword. According to Jeanne, she had the Fierbois sword at Lagny in April 1430, and later wore the sword of a Burgundian captive taken there; a "good cutting blade." From her own account it does not appear that the mystic blade was that which she broke at St. Denys. It rather seems that, after her Voices warned her of her approaching capture, as they did in Easter week 1430, she laid aside the sword of Fierbois and her standard, that they might not fall with her into hostile hands. We do not hear that her standard was taken when she was captured.

With the Royal retreat to the Loire the victories of the Maid in the field were almost ended. But the impetus which she had given to French energy, and the depression and weariness of war with which she had affected the English conquerors, survived not only her victories, but her life. Henceforth, with intervals of indolence, France pressed forward and England withdrew.

Four years later Bedford gave to Henry VI a fair estimate of the gains which by his own confession her country owed mainly to Jeanne d'Arc. A mere fragment of Bedford's letter is very well known, Rymer published it, as of 1428, in the great collection of public documents called *Fœdera* (1710). Quicherat quoted it from Rymer, and conjecturally dated it in the end of July 1429. Rymer merely gives Bedford's account of the "great stroke upon your people" at Orleans, where they in numbers deserted;—a stroke due "in great part, as I trow," to the panic caused by the

Maid, and the encouragement given by her to the French. But Bedford's paper is really of December 1433, "the twelfth year of the reign of Henry VI." Bedford says that "by fair days and victories," after the death of Henry V, he had brought under English allegiance "great part of Brie, Champagne, the Auxerrois, Nivernais, Maconais, Anjou, Maine," "and all things there prospered for you" till the great stroke at Orleans. After that, "divers of your great cities and towns, as Reims, Troyes, Châlons, Laon, Sens, Provins, Senlis, Lagny, Creil, Beauvais, and the substance of the countries of Champagne, Beauce, and a part of Picardy, yielded without resistance or awaiting succours." With the aid of Beaufort's crusaders, he says, he took the field, and saved much of the country and Paris. Nevertheless the people in the English allegiance are ruined, and can neither till their lands and vines nor profit by their merchandise, and are "driven to an extreme poverty, such as they may not long abide."

Bedford was therefore obliged to come to England (1433) to set forth his need of assistance. If he is not listened to, the French under English allegiance "shall be despaired," and each man will do his best for himself, that is, will return to his rightful King. France is "in notorious jeopardy" of being lost, despite the loyalty of Henry's French subjects, in which Bedford expresses a sanguine belief. Finally, he asks for money from the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster, and offers to devote his own gains from the same source to the recovery of France.

But the energy and self-sacrifice of Bedford were unavailing, and, by his confession, the successful reaction against England was "in great part" the result of the enthusiasm which, for four short months, centred in the Maid, whose impulse accomplished her task, though not in the brief space of her allotted year. Ignorant of the part of Bedford's letter which Rymer omitted, all historians have overlooked his recognition of the immense services of the Maid.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN

SAFELY arrived at Gien, Charles disbanded an army which it is said that he could no longer pay, though he had money for La Trémoïlle. D'Alençon went to his wife and his *vicomté* of Beaumont; the captains returned each to his own place of command; "and the Maid abode with the King, taking heavily their departure, especially that of d'Alençon, whom she loved most, and for whom she would do what she would not do for another." A late writer of 1484 avers that the King wished to send Jeanne to war against Rouen, but La Trémoïlle objected, and despatched her (which is true), with his half-brother, d'Albret, to attack St. Pierre le Moustier, on the upper Loire. De Cagny says that d'Alençon, superseded by d'Albret as lieutenant-general, had gathered a force to assail Normandy, and implored the King to let the Maid ride with him. "For her sake many will join who will not budge without her." But La Trémoïlle, de Gaucourt, and the Archbishop made the King refuse, "and never again would suffer her and d'Alençon to be together. She had done things incredible to those who had not seen them, and still would have done had they behaved to her as it was their duty to do."

Historians are apt to maintain that the King's advisers, the Archbishop of Reims, La Trémoïlle, de Gaucourt, and others, had now nothing nearer their hearts than the ruin of the Maid. But it is not easy to see any evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the advisers were personally hostile to Jeanne. She had been very useful, she might be useful again; though when once the politicians had entered on diplomatic courses, hoping to buy the

Duke of Burgundy from the English alliance, the Maid's determined belief that peace could only be gained at the point of the lance, was embarrassing. None the less the theory that the Council engaged her in enterprises which they intended to fail is incredible, though historians so impartial and so learned as Quicherat and Vallet de Viriville write that, after the check at Paris, "the art" (of her adversaries) "now lay in preventing Jeanne from redeeming her fall." Manifestly, on the other hand, it was the interest of the King's advisers that, when she did fight, she should be victorious; but their private schemes and jealousies directed their choice of the places where she was to be employed, their diplomacy made any great enterprise impossible, while their avarice or their poverty left their generals destitute of money and supplies adequate to their enterprises. Jeanne could do no great work because of their unbelief. That Jeanne was deliberately betrayed, is one of the two erroneous opinions prevalent concerning this part of her career. It is an example of the old myth of *nous sommes trahis*. The other error is the idea that her Voices deserted her, and that in her heart she knew her mission was ended.

This theory is partly based on the remark of Dunois averring that she limited her mission to the relief of Orleans and the crowning of the King. But here Dunois, as abundant evidence proves, was mistaken. The King, Jeanne proclaimed, was to enter Paris, the Duke of Orleans was to be released, the English were to be driven out of France. But though Jeanne certainly expected these results from the impetus which she had given, and though they actually were attained at last, it would be hard on her, and it would be rash to assert that she firmly believed she would live to see the fulfilment of her mission. To Dunois and the Archbishop of Reims, as later to a lady, Marguerite Touroulde, she said explicitly that she knew no more than other people about the hour or place of her death. Aware that she might fall any day, in any skirmish, she could entertain no sure belief that she was destined to behold the complete triumph of her cause.

Again, we no longer find her maintaining that she is to achieve, that her Voices command her to achieve, any one great deed. She only fights for the Cause, and she goes where the captains send her. But the reason is obvious. The truces deprived her and deprived France of any special objective. Paris was not to be assailed. Distrustful of d'Alençon, who, as of the Royal blood and adventurous, was jealously regarded by the *fainéant* King, and who had not distinguished himself by generalship, the Council would not allow Jeanne to ride with him against Normandy. Her own strategy, we shall see later, was the best, and was approved of by the Duke of Burgundy. She wished, as she told her judges, to go into the Ile de France in October, and reduce Paris by cutting off the supplies of that great city. But she was not permitted by the Council to take part in these operations.

She had to move in the train of the Court. The Queen now came to join the King, and Jeanne had to follow their indolent train to Selles-en-Berri and to Bourges, where the Queen settled. Here d'Albret lodged Jeanne in the house of Marguerite La Touroulde, who gave evidence in the Trial of Rehabilitation, and here Jeanne abode for three weeks, being often at prayer in the churches. Marguerite told Jeanne that "she did not fear to risk herself in war, because she knew that she would not be slain." The Maid answered that she had no more security than others who fought. She would not touch the rosaries of women who asked for this favour, "Touch them yourselves, they will get as much good from your touch as from mine." She gave freely to the poor, with a glad heart, saying, "I am sent for the comfort of the poor and needy." "She was very simple and innocent, knowing almost nothing, except in affairs of war." Marguerite and Jeanne slept together, and often went together to the baths.

Meanwhile the King moved about from place to place, Montargis, Loches, Jargeau, Issoudun, settling for two months, on November 15, at Mehun-sur-Yèvre. He went everywhere except to the front. His Council now determined to attack La Charité, a strong town on the bend of the upper Loire, which had no

apparent strategic value *at this stage of the war*. But Charles and his advisers must have known that the long delayed, and by Bedford often prayed for, arrival of Henry VI with a new English army, was to occur in the spring of 1430. As we show later, it was part of the Anglo-Burgundian plan of campaign of April 1430 to send a large and mobile force to the towns and forts held for Burgundy by Gressart, commanding in La Charité. The Burgundian purpose, in April 1430, was to keep harassing, from La Charité, the rear of the French, while relieving Paris by attacking their front in Lagny, Melun, Sens, and other towns which were weakening and ruining the capital by stopping supplies.

Thus the strategy of Charles's advisers, November 15, 1429, to anticipate the Anglo-Burgundian schemes by seizing La Charité, St. Pierre le Moustier, and other places under Gressart's command, was no mere freak, as historians have asserted; but was rather a sagacious forecast of the intentions of the enemy. Unhappily, while the King gave orders for the expedition against La Charité, he left his army destitute of money and supplies. This can hardly be set down to the fault of his generals, d'Albret and the Maid. She, for her part, was anxious, as always, that the army should operate in the Ile de France, to secure the reduction of Paris.

The commandant of La Charité, Grasset or Gressart, was a free lance, who had been a mason, it is said; but that was an old story. For many years he had secured his reputation as a soldier. As leader of a company, he had captured La Charité in 1423. He had once seized La Trémoïlle and held him to ransom; he warred for his own hand, and La Trémoïlle owed him a grudge. His niece had married a Spaniard by birth, a soldier of fortune, and uncle of Alexander Borgia (Pope Alexander VI). This Spaniard was bailiff of another town, St. Pierre le Moustier, some thirty miles from La Charité, to the south, and d'Albret determined to discuss the nephew before the uncle.

At Bourges, d'Albret and the Maid gathered their array; she is mentioned as in command with d'Albret in an official document of November 24, in which the people of Bourges are commanded

to raise 1300 gold crowns for the army besieging La Charité. It thus appears, in face of all attempts to deny the fact, that Jeanne at this time held a position officially recognised, and that not "public rumour" alone "attributed the command to the Maid." The English Government, also, we shall see, described Jeanne as "leading the hosts of the Dauphin." Contemporaries of both parties knew what a modern critic repeatedly denies.

The siege of St. Pierre le Moustier seems to have begun on or shortly after October 25. When Jeanne had taken it, she and d'Albret then sent to the town of Clermont, asking for ammunition to attack La Charité, and the people added a gift of a sword, two daggers, and a sperth or battle-axe, for "the Messenger of God," the Maid.

We know about the Maid's brilliant success at St. Pierre le Moustier only from the evidence of d'Aulon. After some days of artillery fire a breach was made in the walls, and an assault took place. The garrison was very numerous, and repelled the storming parties, which retreated. D'Aulon, who had been wounded, and could walk only with crutches, was a spectator. He saw the Maid left alone beneath the wall, accompanied merely by her own people, her two or three lances, probably her brothers, who never deserted her, and their men. D'Aulon managed to get into the saddle, rode to her and asked her why she did not retreat, but remained alone. She raised the *salade* of her helmet and said, "I am not alone, with me are 50,000 of my own, and retreat I will not till I have taken this town."

"Whatever she might say, she had only four or five men with her," remarks the literal d'Aulon, "as I know for certain, and so do several others who were looking on; so I urged her to retire like the rest. Then she bade me tell the men to bring faggots and fascines to bridge the moat: and she herself gave the same order in a loud voice."

In a moment the thing was done, whereat d'Aulon was all amazed, "and the town was stormed, with no great resistance."

This was the true Jeanne touch, as we talk of "the Nelson

touch"; the indomitable tenacity, the gift of encouragement Whatever she meant by "50,000 of her own,"—probably she only expressed her sense of heavenly protection,—she did not ask the viewless 50,000 to bridge the moat. If she saw a vision of legions of angels, she was also perfectly awake to the nature of her actual surroundings, and to the fact that angels are not sappers and miners.

Henceforth neither d'Aulon nor any of her companions was asked, in 1450–1456, any questions about her later fights till her capture. It has been suggested that the judges of 1450–1456 wished to spare the feelings of many who, at that time, were reconciled to the King, after being his opponents. But the gap in the evidence for a period on which the judges at Rouen laid stress is most unsatisfactory.

On November 9, Jeanne was at Moulins in the Bourbonnais, where St. Colette happened to be. One morning the Saint heard the bells of her convent sound for matins three hours too early, and feared that people might take this for a signal given by the nuns to the enemy. The Saint, therefore, to whom nothing was impossible, made all the clocks of the town go three hours too fast, while she caused the sun to rise three hours too early! This miracle shows what legend could do for St. Colette; even legend took no such liberties with the Maid. Whether Jeanne met the famous Saint or not is unknown.

Jeanne now wrote from Moulins to the people of Riom, requiring munitions for the attack on La Charité; she and the Lords with her being slenderly provided. The note is brief, and not in her style; it does not bear her motto, JESUS MARIA. The town of Riom promised money, but gave none. On the other hand, the people of Orleans behaved with their usual generosity. Possibly La Charité was attacked partly because it was a nest of cosmopolitan bandits with no fixed allegiance even to Burgundy, and all the neighbouring towns had an interest in its capture. But Orleans never failed the cause of France and the Maid. The people sent gunners, pay for the men, clothes against the bitter winter weather, and some of their own artillery.

Matters went ill at La Charité. At that period sieges could not well be prosecuted in winter: in November and December 1428, Orleans had a respite from English attack. On November 24, as we have seen, the people of Bourges were asked for 1300 gold crowns, for lack of which the siege must be raised. By this time the Maréchal de Boussac had joined the French besieging forces, which were numerically inadequate. They had to raise the siege; they lost some of their artillery, for the King sent no money and supplies: the money from Bourges never arrived. M. Villaret suggests that the King or his advisers perhaps kept it, while M. de Beaucourt throws the blame on "the ill-will of La Trémoïlle." But this ill-will his authorities do not here so much as mention. The leaders had publicly announced that they must raise the siege if they were not supplied, and they were not supplied. It has been erroneously said, on no evidence at all, that in January 1430, Gressart surrendered La Charité in exchange for the money from Bourges. But as in the following April Gressart was as strong as ever, the story is a manifest fable.

At Rouen the judges made much of the failure at La Charité.

"What did you do in the fosses?"

"I caused an assault to be made."

"Did you throw holy water?"

"I neither threw nor caused it to be thrown by way of aspersion."

"Had you advice from your Voices?"

"I wanted to go into France, but the captains said it was better to go first to La Charité."

"Why did you not enter the town, as you were commanded by God?"

"Who told you that I had commandment from God?" She had no revelation about La Charité. Her Voices said nothing either way.

The long Act of Accusation, or *Requisitoire*, accuses her of having made, at La Charité and Compiègne, many unfulfilled prophecies as matters of revelation.

No evidence is given, none was ever given, no witnesses were ever cited. It is probable that she, like all commanders, encouraged her troops, "You must win, you are sure to have them"; as Dunois says, "she would sometimes speak gaily on matters of war to animate the men." She denied that, in the cases charged, she pretended to speak by revelation; and we are not enabled to criticise the stories to the opposite effect.

One witness, by way of exception, was actually named by the judges, a visionary or impostor, Catherine de la Rochelle, one of M. Vallet de Viriville's Pucelles, really a married woman with a family. Examined by the official at Paris, she accused Jeanne of being under the protection of the Devil; and that gives us the measure of Catherine de la Rochelle. What we know from the Maid about this miserable creature is that she met the woman at Jargeau, and at Montfaucon in Berri. Catherine averred that a lady in white and gold appeared to her, bidding her procure heralds from the King, and trumpeters, and go demanding gold from the good towns; not a bad idea, as the war was failing for want of money, and the scheme provided a pleasant billet for Catherine. She had, she said, the secret of finding hidden treasure. Jeanne bade her go home, look after her household, and take care of her children. She also consulted St. Catherine, who said that her namesake's story was nonsense; and Jeanne so informed the King, to the huge discontent of the divineress and of the charlatan, Brother Richard, who patronised her. Catherine had advised Jeanne not to go to La Charité, "because it was much too cold," Catherine being a matron who loved her comforts. She wished to be an ambassadress of peace to the Duke of Burgundy, and Jeanne said that "peace was only to be won at the lance's point." In fact, Catherine's aim was to be the prophetess of the King's Council and of the politicians. Jeanne sat up all night with Catherine to see the lady in white, to no purpose; but Catherine must have equally failed to see the Saints of Jeanne!

The so-called "Bourgeois de Paris," a violent Burgundian, makes

the Grand Inquisitor say in a sermon that Brother Richard was a fatherly man to Jeanne, Catherine, and two other women; he "coached them," says M. Anatole France (*il les endoctrinait*), "he led them as he pleased." We are not aware of a single instance in which Jeanne acted on the coaching of Brother Richard. Their acquaintance began when she converted him from the Burgundian to the French party, at least he turned his coat as soon as they met. That he coached her is not proved by offering a citation from a witness who merely says that she confessed to the man at Senlis. Nor is there any proof that Jeanne "smelled a rival" in Catherine de Rochelle: she detected a humbug. Most certainly Brother Richard did not lead Jeanne as he pleased: he did not lead her at all,—this is the old theory of Beaumarchais (1730). Jeanne found out the foolish pulpiteer and his pupil, who had a genius for advertisement. According to the Bourgeois, quoting the sermon of the Grand Inquisitor, Brother Richard at Jargeau, on Christmas Day, administered the Holy Communion thrice to Jeanne and twice to a Breton visionary who was later burned. I do not observe that the accusers at Rouen pressed this charge, whatever its value may be, against the Maid. It is a pity, of course, that Brother Richard was allowed to be a hanger-on of the Court, but we do not learn that on any occasion Jeanne acted on his advice. She never was led by priests. She never confided, we must keep on repeating, to a priest the monitions of her Voices, by which she was directed. It was therefore impossible for priests to "indoctrinate" or coach her, as regards her mission, though they might raise her indignation against the Bohemian heretics.

In the autumn campaign, to resume, it does not appear that the Maid was in any way to blame for the failure. The King raised a force which he would not pay or victual. Jeanne wished that force to strike at a vital point "in France." The captains led her to St. Pierre le Moustier, where their supplies of all sorts ran low, but the tenacity of the girl stimulated the men to a successful effort. They then marched without adequate supplies to La

Charité, and raised the siege when the money for which they had asked as essential was not provided. La Charité, as there was none to rescue it, "must have capitulated one day or another," says a critic. The remark is innocent, an army without money and supplies could not wait for the remote day of capitulation!

The policy of the Royal counsellors had damaged, none the less, the prestige of the Maid as invincible. Enthusiasm in the loyal provinces had been frittered away by the dawdling French diplomatists, the dupes of Burgundy. But it is not to be supposed that the politicians had a set purpose to cheapen the Maid. They merely attempted no advance on a great scale; the King merely failed, as always, to show himself on horseback at the head of his troops. The truces continued; there was no policy, military or civil; they "waited for something to turn up."

In December, in the presence of La Trémoïlle and Le Macon (de Trèves), who are accused of being enemies of the Maid, the King gave to her and her family letters ennobling them. The name of "our dear and beloved" Jehanne is spelled "d'Ay." Her whole kith and kin are ennobled, "that the memory of the divine glory and of so many favours may endure and increase for ever." Jeanne's father, mother, and three brothers and all their kinship and lineage are included; and *noblesse* is to descend both in the male and female lines, though "they may, perchance, have been of other than free condition." No armorial bearings are mentioned in the grant, but the Maid told a painter at Rouen, and told her judges, that her brothers bore two lilies of France, or, on a shield azure, between them was a sword supporting a crown; the new name of the family was du Lys. She herself had never used a shield or armorial bearings; the King gave them to her brothers. The Royal gratitude gave rank without lands and gear. In later days Jean du Lys succeeded to Baudricourt's captaincy of Vaucouleurs: Pierre was supported by the town and Duke of Orleans; and the good town provided a pension long enjoyed by the mother of the Maid, for the city possessed a virtue not commonly found in princes.

The King may have meant well, but his money sank into the corpulent La Trémoïlle like water into sand. The Royal accounts prove that he was always receiving presents of horses (he fell off his at Montépilloy) and of money. In the high tide of distress at Orleans (February 1429) he got 10,000 gold crowns. On September 22, 1429, he had 6594 gold crowns and 5890 *livres tournois*, to pay 2000 men-at-arms and archers, of whose exploits nothing is heard, and who may have been men in buckram. Meanwhile Charles had not a crown piece for Guy de Laval, who therefore gave orders to sell his lands. When Château Thierry surrendered, La Trémoïlle obtained the revenues and escheats of the town. He got the Governorship of Compiègne, and he had monstrous pensions. This Falstaff was absolute with the King, from whom he took much and to whom he lent something ; and when the Maid was captured, but not yet sold to the English, Charles could not ransom her; the money was needed for La Trémoïlle, whom the Constable could not manage to capture or despatch. Richemont did his best, he had a plot going, and, at an unknown date, had even a plan for taking possession of the Maid, so one of his agents confessed.

In December 1429 there was, in addition to the activity of the captains round Paris, one hopeful feature in the war. La Hire was a soldier, whatever his faults. He seized and held the town of Louviers, within twenty miles of Rouen, and the French believed that the English dared not attempt to recover it while Jeanne lived.

If Jeanne could have despaired, she might well have abandoned hope and the military life, for how much they had wasted of her allotted year!

CHAPTER XIX

JEANNE'S LAST CAMPAIGN

THE truces with Burgundy lasted till Easter, or, as some hold, ended a month earlier; Jeanne was, till then, constrained to be inactive. Only two or three trivialities are known about her occupations. On January 19 she was at Orleans, where the loyal people entertained her with wine, pheasants, and partridges. The people of Tours, though they declined to give a trousseau, at the Maid's request, to Héliote, daughter of "Heuves Poulnoir," the King's Scottish painter, provided wine for the wedding breakfast. The Maid at an uncertain date took a lease of a house at Orleans, perhaps as a home for her mother.

We know nothing of Jeanne's pecuniary resources; she told her judges that she never asked anything from the King except for military purposes, "good arms, good horses, and the payment of her household." She had no jewels but two rings of base metal. She gave what she could to the poor. When captured she had 12,000 *livres* of the King's money, "no great treasure for waging war," as she said.

By March 16, Jeanne was at Sully, La Trémoïlle's place, with the King. Though the truce is said by Monstrelet to have lasted till Easter (April 16), other authorities give the date as March 15. The people of Reims had written to the Maid, expressing their fear of a siege. She answered them from Sully, on March 16, "You shall not have a siege, if I meet the foes; and if I do not, shut your gates, I will soon be with you, and I will make the enemy buckle their spurs in haste. . . . I would send you other news that would rejoice you, but fear that the letter may be intercepted."

The Duke of Burgundy, in fact, had induced Bedford to cede to him all Champagne, while he was to let England hire a contingent of his subjects. England, meanwhile, had to issue proclamations against deserters for the second time in four months. Historians, deceived by a heading to this document,—a heading invented by Rymer, the editor of *Foedera*, 1710,—have supposed that the English Government spoke of "the terrifying sorceries of the Maid." In fact, a similar order against deserters had been issued before she was so much as heard of; and the English archives have yielded not a single allusion to Jeanne d'Arc, except in Bedford's memoir of December 1433, which, thanks to a blunder by Rymer, has hitherto been misunderstood, and, indeed, mainly unknown. The war with France had become unpopular in England.

The good news which Jeanne could not tell the people of Reims, was probably the fact of a great anti-English conspiracy in Paris. The arrest of a Carmelite led to the discovery of the plot, for which eight leaders were executed. The conspiracy seems to have been detected about March 21. Scottish archers were to have been admitted within the gates, a popular rising was to have done the rest. The Scots would be of Kennedy's command at Lagny.

On March 23, Pasquerel, the Maid's confessor, wrote and signed a letter, purporting to be from Jeanne, to the Bohemian heretics. She hears that they overthrow the statues of saints, and ruin churches. If they did not, they were unworthy of the name of Reformers. The Huguenots were later to destroy the cathedral of Orleans, the statue of the Maid on the bridge, and even the modest tomb of Jacques Boucher, on which was commemorated his hospitality to Jeanne during the great siege.

Pasquerel makes her say to the Hussites, "I would have visited you with my avenging arm!" (*style Pasquerel*), "if the English war had not detained me. . . . Perhaps I will leave the English alone and turn against you." She never would have left the English alone.

On March 28, Jeanne wrote again to Reims, saying that the King had heard of a Burgundian conspiracy within the walls; but he knows that the French party in the town is loyal, and they are in his best graces. He will help them if they are besieged; the English, we shall see, desired to take Reims and there crown their little King. "You will soon hear my good news more plainly. . . . All Bretagne is French, and the Duc is to send 3000 men, paid for two months,"—a hope never fulfilled, but not a prophecy from the Voices.

Meanwhile preparations were being made in England for the arrival in France of little Henry VI with an army. We possess a long paper of advice sent to the English Council by the Duke of Burgundy, at a date certainly earlier than April 23; and this document gives a lucid account of the state of affairs as they were in April. The French, says Burgundy, thanks to the campaign of July–August 1429, now hold many towns and fortresses on what had been the English side of Loire, Yonne, Seine, Marne, and Oise. In these regions the English will find no supplies. Paris is beset, and oppressed by the enemy, "whereby it is daily in great peril and danger," for it had lived on the produce of the towns now in the enemy's hands. To lose Paris would be, for England, to lose the whole kingdom.

We have thus hostile testimony to the enormous change in affairs, since the Maid brought the succour of Heaven to her King in mid-Lent, 1429.

There is excellent evidence for the success of the French arms and the long misery of Paris, in the *Journal d'un Bourgeois*. "All the villages round Paris are oppressed by the Armagnacs, not a man of Paris dares to set his foot beyond the suburbs; if any do, they are lost or slain or set at high ransom; and supplies that reach Paris are charged at twice or thrice the ordinary rate."

The Anglo-Burgundian forces, provisioned from Normandy and Picardy, must therefore, says the Duke of Burgundy, labour to save Paris by recovering the surrounding towns now in French hands. "Paris is the heart of the mystic body of the kingdom"; only by

liberating the heart can the body be made to flourish. The best strategy is to fight on both sides of the Loire. Many hold that Paris should be well garrisoned, and that Henry VI should first march on Reims and there be crowned. (We know that the Burgundian party in Reims was conspiring to open the gates to Burgundy and England.) Now it is true that Henry's French subjects will be more inclined to support his cause if he be crowned at Reims. On the other hand, it is an extremely strong town, well fortified, well provisioned, and well manned, so that to besiege it would be a long affair, and the besiegers could not get supplies. (How easily this place of strength had fallen before the Maid!)

A check at Reims would be an immense disaster, and while the Anglo-Burgundian forces were concentrated there, Paris might fall. Great garrisons in Paris and in the remaining towns under English allegiance would merely eat them up, "and rather be their destruction than their salvation."

Supposing then that King Henry brings an English army of 10,000 men, he should send 1000 good horsemen to the places under Pierre Gressart (La Charité and others) to work the Loire country, while the Duke of Burgundy will reinforce Gressart with 200 men-at-arms. They will all combine to fight in Berri, and advance towards Orleans and the Sologne.

This advice (as we have already seen) shows the absurdity of the statement that Gressart surrendered La Charité, in January 1430, for 1300 gold crowns; that the King took with gold the town which the Maid failed to take with the sword. At the same time, Burgundy's memoir suggests that the French attack on La Charité was made for sufficient strategic reasons, though the assailants were left destitute by the King and the people of Bourges. However, in fact, the Anglo-Burgundians were unable to carry out their scheme.

Frontier towns, Corbueil and others, the letter of advice says, must be well manned to prevent Sens and Melun from victualling themselves (for Melun had come over to King Charles in April 17–23); Laon and Soissons must be attempted, to clear the road to

Reims; while Burgundy must seize Pont à Choisy (Choisy le Bac), with its bridge, to secure his communications in his attack on Compiègne,—the central and chief object of his desires: the town that, on September 30, 1429, had disobeyed the King's orders to surrender to Burgundy, preferring death to that dishonour. They had seen the Maid, and were of her spirit. It is vain, the Burgundian memorial goes on, to make any direct attack on Beauvais, Sens, and Melun, they are too strong. The real objective is Compiègne, the other movements are to relieve Paris, and to distract the French on their rear.

We now understand the Burgundian plan of campaign, which was entirely ruined, thanks to the resistance of Compiègne, though at the cost of the liberty and life of the Maid. She, according to the d'Alençon chronicler, was highly dissatisfied with the plans and preparations of Charles, and left Sully at the end of March without the knowledge of her King. This is improbable, and, according to M. Anatole France, "Things fell out in quite another way. The Maid raised a company of about a hundred horse and sixty-eight bowmen, under the command of a Lombard captain, Barthélemy Baretta. . . . She was in the hands of d'Aulon, and d'Aulon was in the hands of La Trémoïlle, to whom he owed money. The good squire would not have followed Jeanne against the King's will."

Jeanne, in fact, did as she pleased; d'Aulon was only her loyal servant, and was paid by her. That he, at this date, owed money to La Trémoïlle is (as we have already shown) an error. He borrowed the money (500 gold crowns) just two years later, when Jeanne was dead, on March 16, 1432; and this fact is M. France's proof for the statement that d'Aulon was in debt to La Trémoïlle in March 1430! Having had to ransom himself after being captured with Jeanne at Compiègne, in 1432, d'Aulon was obliged to negotiate a loan for two months from La Trémoïlle.

M. Champion correctly states that Jeanne left Sully with a little troop (her "two or three lances") "and rode for Lagny-sur-Marne because they of Lagny made good war on the English of Paris," as says the d'Alençon chronicler. At Lagny she met soldiers of

goodwill, Baretta, Kennedy (apparently not Sir Hugh, called "Come with the penny"), and Ambroise de Loré commanding there, or his lieutenant, Foucault. (Baretta commanded thirty-two men-at-arms, forty-three cross bowmen, and twenty archers.) To this handful had shrunk the armies of Dunois, La Hire, Boussac, and de Rais, with whom the Maid was used to ride; she was not sent to accompany any of the great leaders; she rode off from Sully and joined the first company of men warring near Paris whom she could encounter. To strike at Paris, with however weak a stroke, to be "in France," the old Ile de France, was always her desire. As well as the Duke of Burgundy, she understood the necessity of weakening "the heart of the mystic body of the kingdom"; at that task she had wished to be in November, not at La Charité. Her military instinct was correct, but she was unsupported. Yet it does not appear that she was wholly without Royal backing. She actually possessed, when captured, 12,000 *livres* of her King's money—all her war chest. It is probable that with this sum she supported Baretta's handful of men.

And now her Voices abandoned her: not that they were silent, but they gave no warlike counsel. She told her judges the heart-breaking story. It was in Easter week (April 17–23), and it seems to have been in a moment of triumph, that "as I was on the ramparts of Melun, St. Catherine and St. Margaret warned me that I should be captured before Midsummer day; that so it must needs be: nor must I be afraid and astounded; but take all things well, for God would help me. So they spoke, almost every day. And I prayed that when I was taken I might die in that hour, without wretchedness of long captivity; but the Voices said that so it must be. Often I asked the hour, which they told me not; had I known the hour, I would not have gone into battle."

Her allotted year, she knew, was almost ended, but the prophecy of the Voices came with the shock of certainty,—the Voices that spoke not of instant death, but a myriad times worse, of capture. Would not the bravest man, with the prospect of the death by fire in case of his capture, would not Ney or Skobéleff,

Wallace or Gordon, have blenched? But the Maid rode on, first in the charge, last in the retreat. There is no other such tale in history. She was the bravest of the brave.

I have said that this tidings came to her in no hour of depression, but of triumph. Melun had been English for ten years: in October 1429 it had been handed over by Bedford to the Duke of Burgundy. But in April 17–23 the townsfolk ejected the Burgundian garrison and captain, and left free to France their bridge, and the passage of the Seine. "As no regular French army lay before Melun, this proves," says M. Champion, "the still abiding value and ascendant of the presence of Jeanne. She opened more brilliantly than has been generally recognised the campaign of the Oise."

From Melun, at a date unknown, Jeanne rode to Lagny, due east of Paris, and an ill neighbour to the capital, being one of the towns recovered for France in August 1429, and now held by a garrison of those which were choking "the heart of the kingdom." "Of Jeanne's arrival there was great talk in Paris"; she soon gave them something to talk about. News reached Lagny that a band of three or four hundred "Englishmen" was traversing the Ile de France, doing as much mischief to the country as they could. The Maid, with Kennedy and his Scots; Foucault, commanding in Lagny for Ambroise de Loré, Baretta, and other leaders, determined to meet the "English," which they did; "and hard work they had, for the French were not more numerous than the English," says Chartier. The enemy were not under an English leader, and may have been mainly Picard allies of England. They were all slain or taken, and the French also had losses in killed and wounded. The enemy, having archers, dismounted in the English way; probably they fortified themselves, as usual, with long pikes, or the chained palisade of stakes. Twice the French charged them furiously and were beaten back, but at last, says Monstrelet, were reinforced abundantly, and brought up field-pieces.

Among the prisoners was a gentleman, Franquet d'Arras.

For some reason unknown, perhaps because he was taken by one of her own little band, perhaps merely at her request, Franquet was given to the Maid, that she might exchange him for the landlord of the Bear Inn, at Paris, who was one of the conspirators seized after the failure of the French plot in March. But the landlord of the Bear had died in prison, or had been executed, and, at the demand of the Bailli of Senlis, Franquet was tried by him and a jury, as we call it, of men of Lagny, on charges of murder, robbery, and treachery. His trial lasted for a fortnight; it was not a drumhead court martial; he confessed to the charges against him, and he was executed. The Burgundians, accustomed to gentlemanly murder, robbery, and treachery, were horrified, and her judges made the death of Franquet a great point against the Maid. She replied by stating the facts as we have given them. She received Franquet as a pledge for the life of the landlord of the Bear; the landlord being dead, and civil justice demanding Franquet, she handed him over; he was tried, he confessed, and he was executed. Burgundian writers later averred that Jeanne cut off his head with her own hand, because he refused to kneel to her!

As we have already seen, at Lagny Jeanne still had the famous sword of Fierbois, which she is commonly said to have broken while slapping a leaguer-lass with the flat. At Lagny she obtained a sword taken from a Burgundian, and bore it till her capture, "a good sword to give good smacks and good strokes"; what she did with the sword of Fierbois she refused to say. She never slew any man; she carried her standard in her right hand, her left held the reins. "Whether the life of war had hardened her, or whether, like all ecstatics, she was subject to sudden changes of temper, she did not show at Lagny the mildness of Pathay" (where she was not in the fighting line). "This Virgin, who previously, in battle, had no arm but her standard, now used a sword found at Lagny, a good sword to hit and strike," says a critic.

In fact, she had always worn both sword and sperth, and had daggers to boot. But no man, on any occasion,—not even in the

moment of her capture,—bears witness that the Maid ever dealt a stroke with the edge. She knew that she was to be taken, and did not choose that the sword of Fierbois should fall into the hands of the enemy: apparently for the same reason she did not carry her standard at Compiègne, for we hear nothing of its capture.

Jeanne neither worked nor professed to work miracles. She did not pretend to heal people by touching them with her ring that had touched St. Catherine. Moreover, even the mythopœic nature of an excited people rarely attributed miracles to the Maid, a very extraordinary fact when we remember the amazing miracles which were freely attributed to St. Colette. But at Lagny there seems to have been a popular effort to connect Jeanne with a miracle, nothing less than that great performance of St. Colette—a resurrection!

Once, when the Saint was absent from her convent at Poligny, a sister died. She then appeared to the Saint,—like Dr. Johnson's dead wife to Dr. Johnson in the story,—with such an aspect as too forcibly proved that she was lost. The Saint at once sent an express to the convent, forbidding the nuns to bury the dead sister before her own return. On the fourth day St. Colette went back to the sisters, and commanded the corpse to arise. The corpse did so, went to the altar, kneeled, and prayed "in the sight of a watchful multitude, breathless with wonder and profoundly affected." The corpse then walked to the confessional, made her confession, returned, addressed the sisters, lay down quietly in her coffin, ceased to breathe, and was buried.

The miracle attributed to Jeanne at Lagny was less out of the common course.

Her judges asked her, "How old was the boy whom you raised up at Lagny?"

"He was three days old, and he was brought before the image of the Blessed Virgin. I was told that the maids of the town were gathered before the image, and I was asked to go and pray to God and the Virgin that life might be restored to the child. I went,

with the other maids, and prayed, and at last there seemed to be life in the child, who gasped thrice, was baptized; then instantly died, and was buried in holy ground. For three days, as people said, he had given no sign of life. He was as black as my coat, but when he gasped, his colour began to come back."

"Was it said in the town that you had caused the resurrection, and that it was done at your prayer?"

"I asked no questions on the subject," answered Jeanne, with proud disdain.

If it were a sin to pray, and were sorcery to receive a favourable answer, at least the prayer was collective, and all the maids of Lagny were greatly guilty.

CHAPTER XX

THE LAST DAY UNDER ARMS

A MINOR miracle which occurred at this time, proves that good men prayed for the Maid, not knowing, as she knew, that her fate was shapen. She told no man of the prediction of her approaching capture, lest she should discourage her comrades; perhaps lest they should force her to seek safety with the King,—who was always in a safe place. Since the Voices spoke at Melun, she had usually followed the counsel of the captains in war.

Meanwhile, as regards the minor miracle, on the night of April 18 a priest of Angers had such a headache that he expected to die. He prayed, as was his wont, to St. Catherine of Fierbois. Instantly his pain vanished; in a few days he was able to walk; he made a pilgrimage to Fierbois, and "said a Mass for the King and the noble Maid."

From Lagny, Jeanne had gone to Senlis with 1000 horse under various leaders. She and the captains were admitted into the city; not so the men-at-arms, the town could not afford to entertain them.

Meanwhile (April 22) the King was still dallying with the idea of a congress of the Powers at Auxerre, to arrange a general peace, and was not without hope that the Duke of Burgundy would meet his envoys on June 1. But the English, as Charles told the Duke of Savoy, seemed to be far from enthusiastic for peace; as was visible enough, Henry VI being on the point of invading France with a large army. The French King pitifully complained that he had been unable to fulfil his promise of handing Compiègne over to Burgundy, but, on the other hand, Burgundy had not restored to

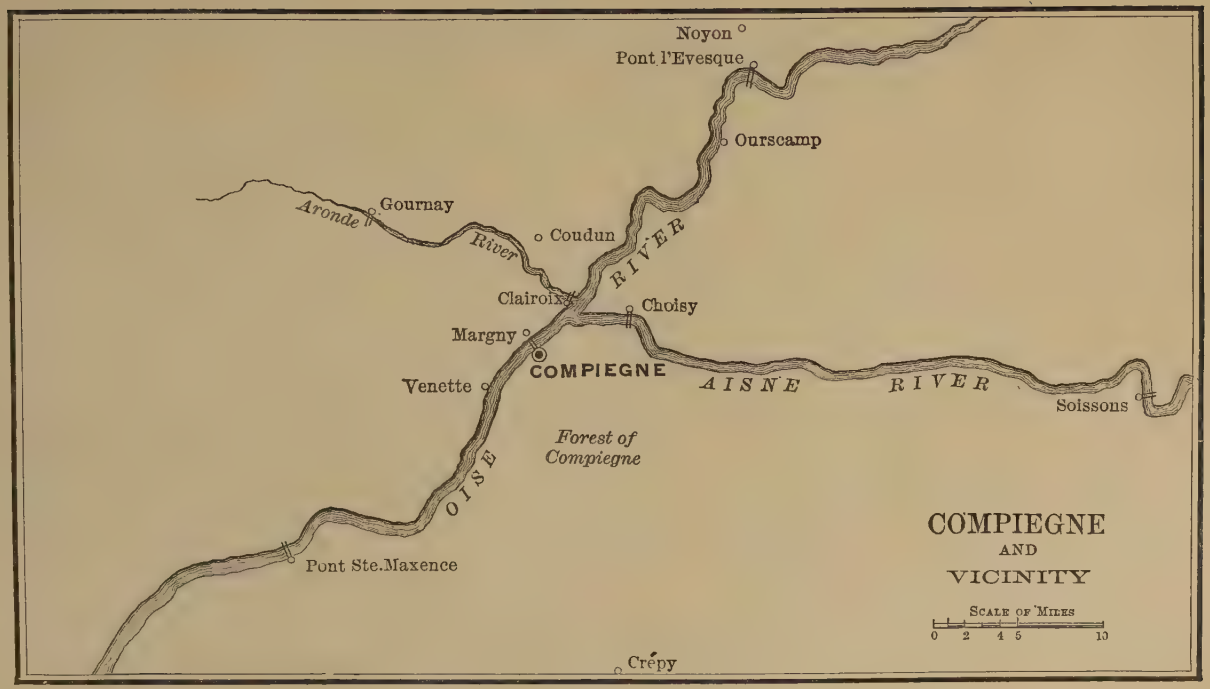
him Pont Sainte Maxence. If Charles's men have broken truce, he says, so have Burgundy's men; they have tried to take Troyes.

It took Charles and his advisers exactly ten months to discover the truth which the Maid had announced by letter to the people of Reims on August 5, 1429, saying, "I am not content with these truces," which she thinks may be merely intended "to deceive the Royal blood." The peasant girl, in August 1429, saw through the diplomacy of Burgundy, and on May 6, 1430, her King announced to the people of Reims that the Duke of Burgundy "has never had, and now has not any intention of coming to terms of peace, but always has favoured and does favour our enemies."

No heavenly Voices were needed in July 1429 to inform the Maid that the Duke of Burgundy was hoaxing her King, his favourite La Trémoïlle, his de Trêves, his de Gaucourt, and the rest of his advisers. Beyond the circle of the politicians and diplomatists of France, the truth of the case was visible to plain men; to the people of Compiègne, Troyes, Reims, to every one. But the politicians chose to be deceived.

Such was the end of the wisdom of the wise, of the King, the Archbishop of Reims, La Trémoïlle, de Gaucourt, and the rest. Five more years of war before the treaty of Arras was all that the King and Council gained by preferring their own wisdom to the wisdom of Jeanne d'Arc, "the *béguine*," the visionary, the simple, ignorant, hallucinated, puzzle-headed lass.

Burgundy had been concentrating his forces and his copious artillery at Montdidier, some thirty miles north-west of the main object of his desire, Compiègne. Compiègne rivalled or excelled Orleans in its extent and strength, and commanded the passage of the Oise, and that route to Paris. Situated on the southern bank of the river, not like Orleans, on the north of the Loire; like Orleans it had a river frontage, protected by a deeper stream, and unlike Orleans, it had fosses full of water. Behind it, to the south, was a great forest, just as Orleans had a forest to the north. The Anglo-Burgundians first secured their footing on the farther side, the northern side of the river, and, as at Orleans, their earliest



From F. C. Lowell's *Joan of Arc.*

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task was to attack the strongly fortified bridge-head. Meanwhile the city was not invested on the other bank, and the forest concealed the advance of convoys and relieving forces from that quarter. The *enceintes* of the two cities are almost identical in extent and formation.

The main object of the Anglo-Burgundian campaign of 1430 was to capture Compiègne, whence they could enter and dominate the Ile de France, and relieve Paris. Henry VI landed at Calais on April 23; in less than a month an Anglo-Burgundian command was encamped along the Oise, opposite the coveted city. The Duke of Burgundy from Montdidier, marching due west, occupied Noyon, south of which, at a distance of two miles, lay the strong place of Pont l'Evêque, with its invaluable bridge over the Oise, which was held by a stout English garrison. Just above Compiègne, the Aisne, on the southern side, falls almost at right angles into the Oise. Immediately above the junction, on the northern bank of the Aisne, was the strong place of Choisy-le-Bac. If that were in Burgundian hands a French force operating south of the Aisne could find no nearer bridge than that of Soissons, held at the moment by France.

The great first object of the French loyalists was therefore to capture the town of Pont l'Evêque, and cut the Burgundian lines of communication southwards across the Oise, while Burgundy was besieging Choisy-le-Bac, with its bridge across the Aisne. To assist in this manœuvre the Maid, on May 13, entered Compiègne from the south. Here she met, for the last time, the Archbishop of Reims and the Comte de Vendôme. To her, as to these dignitaries, the town presented wine, as was usual.

With a force estimated, probably by exaggeration, at from 2000 to 4000 men, under Poton de Saintrailles and three other captains, the Maid attacked Pont l'Evêque at dawn. The English garrison is also overestimated, probably, at 1200 to 800 men; in either case it was more than adequate to hold a strong place against a sudden camisade. The French, however, were gaining ground when the Burgundian garrison of Noyon, two miles away,

came up and fell on their rear. They were obliged to withdraw, though as the killed are stated at only thirty men on each side, the fighting must have been the reverse of resolute.

On May 16, Choisy-le-Bac surrendered to Burgundy on terms; the captain,—Louis, brother of Guillaume de Flavy,—with his garrison and great gun, was allowed to retire into Compiègne by terms of the capitulation.

The French and the Maid returned to Compiègne. Their aim was now to fall on the rear of the Burgundians; but to do this they must cross the Aisne, and they had now no nearer bridge than that of Soissons, far away to the east.

On May 18, Jeanne and the whole force rode to Soissons, accompanied by the Archbishop of Reims, who there parted from Jeanne for the last time, and took an early opportunity of blackening her character. Perhaps she knew not this, but, though she had admirable opportunities of speaking her mind about him, the loyal girl never uttered a syllable against any one of her party.

Soissons was held for France by a treacherous Picard, named Guiscard Bournel, who had been placed there by the incapable Charles de Bourbon, the fugitive of Rouvray fight. Bournel, claiming the privilege of the good town, refused to allow the army to enter, and then sold the town to Burgundy for 4000 *salus d'or*. The document attesting his infamy is extant, and has been discovered by M. Pierre Champion. Her judges accused Jeanne of swearing profane, when she heard of the treachery of the Picard (who joined the Burgundian army), and of saying that, if she had him, she would cause him to be quartered, precisely the punishment which he had deserved by the law of the day. She answered that she never swore, and that those who said so must have misheard her.

The French army now broke up, crossing Marne and Seine, as the country could not support them; and the town of Compiègne could not supply so large a garrison, being already sufficiently manned. But Jeanne, knowing that the English and Burgundians

had now actually established themselves opposite Compiègne, on the northern bank of Oise, insisted on riding thither with the little band of Barthélemy Baretta, which, reckoning four men to each lance, cannot have numbered more than 200. The d'Alençon chronicler, Percéval de Cagny, cannot have been in her company at this moment. But he dictated his Memoirs only six years after the fatal event at Compiègne, and he had doubtless heard the reminiscences of companions of the Maid, probably from d'Aulon. De Cagny always writes of her in a tone of the warmest affection and the highest admiration: he regards her kindness for his chief as one of the glories of his House.

According to de Cagny, then, Jeanne was at Crépy when she heard that the Duke of Burgundy and the Earl of Arundel were encamped in face of Compiègne with a large force. About midnight (May 22–23) she left Crépy, with her company of 300 or 400 combatants (really with about half that number at most, as far as Baretta's band is concerned). They told her that they were but few to pass through the hosts of English and Burgundians; but she said, "*Par mon martin*, we are enough: I will go to see my good friends at Compiègne."

In fact, by rapid riding through the forest paths on the southern side of the river, not yet occupied by the enemy, she entered Compiègne, unopposed, about sunrise on May 23. There is no record of her reception by the notables of the city in the town's books of accounts. It is hardly worth while to criticise a story of May 23, gleaned in 1498 from the lips of two men over ninety, who were young in 1430. These men must have been older than Jeanne, and so were not among the *children* to whom she is reported to have said, in church, "Children and dear friends, I tell you that I am sold and betrayed, and will soon be delivered over to death. Pray God for me. Never more shall I have power to serve the King and kingdom of France."

No doubt Alain Bouchart, who collected this story from the lips of the nonagenarians in July 1498, states what he heard. "But, Lord! what liars we old men be!" The Maid herself told

her judges that she had no warning from her Voices of the day and hour of her capture. "Had I known, I would not have sallied forth." She also says that she concealed from her men her foreknowledge of her fate. Is it likely, then, that, at any one of her three last visits to Compiègne, she publicly announced her apprehensions to the people and a crowd of children in church?

We know nothing of what passed in Compiègne on May 23 till five o'clock, the hour of the fatal sortie; but it is most probable that the weary riders took rest, that Jeanne heard Mass, and that she consulted with de Flavy.

We must now describe the positions of the Anglo-Burgundian forces. Opposite the bridge-head on the northern side of the river, at the village of Margny, Baudot de Noyelles commanded a small Burgundian outpost, "the camp of our advanced guard and the nearest to the enemy," says the Duke of Burgundy, writing on the day of the events. Above Margny is a cliff with a wide prospect; below, Baudot's post occupied the head of a long paved causeway, built through marshy and often flooded meadows. Beyond Margny, and a mile and a half from the town, farther up the river bank, is Clairoix, then held in great force by a famous warrior, the veteran Jean de Luxembourg, Comte de Ligny. Farther down the river than Margny, by some two miles, is Venette, the camp of the English under Montgomery. These dispositions are given by Monstrelet, the soldier-chronicler, who was present. At Coudun, concealed by the high land above Margny, and by the valley of the Aronde, lay the Duke of Burgundy, within a league of Margny.

About five o'clock in the evening the Maid, with Poton le Bourguignon, brother of d'Aulon (not Saintrailles), and "some other captains," and with from 400 to 500 men, horse and foot, says Monstrelet, swept out of the town, across the bridge, and beat up the quarters of Baudot de Noyelles. The object of the sortie, says Monstrelet, was simply to clear out the isolated post of Baudot, and render the place untenable.

Burgundian chroniclers aver that the Maid, before sallying out

announced many "foolish phantomries" and "divine revelations," saying that she would capture the Duke of Burgundy, and destroy his force! That she announced revelations is alleged by her accuser in his long paper of charges. She was not asked, however, whether or not she proclaimed that she had received revelations; she was asked whether the Voices gave any advice, and she said, "None!" Had she known that she was to be taken, and had the Voices nevertheless bidden her sally out, she would have obeyed them, she declared.

In fact, the sortie was an ordinary operation of war, a sudden attack on a small outpost, probably but ill-fortified, at an hour when, says Monstrelet, most of the men of Baudot had laid aside their armour. It was a surprise. De Flavy, to secure the retreat, had lined the ramparts of Compiègne with culverin men, archers, and cross-bow men, and filled with bowmen a number of small boats, ranged along the farther bank of the river; so writes a contemporary advocate in the cause of that ill-fated soldier.

Her retreat thus covered and her task easy, Jeanne, on her grey horse, with her scarlet gold-embroidered *hucque*, must have sallied forth with a heart as light as it was resolute. She scattered the men of the outpost through the village, but the Duke of Burgundy avers that not one of his men was killed or taken! At this hour, Jean de Luxembourg, with the Sieur de Créqui and eight or ten other gentlemen, was riding from Clairoix on a visit to Baudot. They had drawn rein on the cliff of Margny and were reconnoitring the town, which lay far below them. But for this accident, the Maid would have returned safe and successful; Baudot would not have been reinforced from Clairoix. But Jean de Luxembourg, observing the attack on Baudot, sent back riders to his force at Clairoix, who came up at the gallop. Twice, as when with La Hire she drove back the English at Les Augustins, the Maid charged the men of Jean de Luxembourg and forced them back, she told her judges, to Baudot's position at the end of the causeway. A third time, riding in the rear, "as she that was the chief, and

the most valiant of her band," says a Burgundian chronicler, "doing deeds beyond the nature of woman, there, as Fortune granted it, for the end of her glory, and for that her last day under arms," she drove the enemy back by half the length of the causeway.

So she charged, caring only for the safety of her band; the Burgundian chroniclers honourably acknowledge the greatness of her conduct. But most of her men had fled to the boats and the bridge. And now, she says, the English from La Venette came up (5000 men, writes Monstrelet!) and cut her off from safety. She seems, by her own account, to have been driven off the causeway "on to the fields," the heavy marshy meadows.

It has been said that the delay in executing the retreat was caused by the booty which the Maid's men stopped to collect and were reluctant to abandon. This is the mere guess of a modern historian. Of course the sortie was not made merely to scatter Baudot's men; it was necessary to render their post untenable: this needed time. The whole adventure, from the first exit to the capture of the Maid, perhaps lasted but one hour. The Burgundians from Clairoix, warned by Jean de Luxembourg, would arrive in small companies, and as their numbers swelled they were able to drive back the party of the Maid, who thrice compelled them, in their turn, to retreat. But every minute the Burgundians were reinforced.

Now all her men had fled; only d'Aulon, his brother, her brothers, and two or three more were with her when she was surrounded by men of all the hostile forces, Burgundians, Picards, Englishmen; nothing then was between her and Compiègne but the river bank and the outwork with its moat. The drawbridge was raised, lest the pursuers should enter with the flying throng; but the Maid never reached the drawbridge. She was forced into the meadows, she was surrounded, she was dragged from her horse by an archer of the Bastard of Wandonne; her friends could not remount her. Chastellain, the late Burgundian writer, says that she asked the archer if he were noble, and that she

gave him her faith as a prisoner, when he replied that he was. Historians who accept this picturesque statement give the Maid the lie.

"Never did I give my faith to any man," she answered her judges haughtily, when they desired her to be on her parole not to attempt to escape. De Cagny reports her words thus: When asked to surrender she said, "I have sworn and given my faith to another than you,"—to God and the King,—"and I will keep my oath!"

Many a time she had implored her Saints that, when taken, she might meet instant death. Now, and it was like her, she tried to secure her death by refusing to surrender. Captives were apt to be slain if they declined to yield themselves, or, as after Jargeau, were murdered in a scuffle between the men who took them, and quarrelled over their claims.

But the Maid was too great a prize. She, her brothers, and d'Aulon were carried off in triumph, also Poton le Bourguignon. But Baretta had not given his life or freedom for the protection of the rear, and no man of name and eminence shared the glory and the calamity of Jeanne d'Arc. When the Duke of Burgundy, in his bulletin of the day, says "many captains, knights, squires, are dead or taken," *il ment comme un bulletin*, we hear of none of them.

This was the glorious end of her glory in arms. She, with certain foreknowledge of her fate, had accepted her doom, being, like Bayard on a later day, a willing sacrifice for the people whom she had led. She was the Flower of Chivalry; brave as d'Argentine at Bannockburn, but brave for a nobler end than the winning of deathless renown.

Guy de Laval, La Hire, Dunois, Poton de Saintrailles, d'Alençon, had you been there the Maid had not been taken! The charge of treachery against de Flavy is quite baseless. He could neither succour the Maid by a sortie, nor leave the drawbridge down in face of a charge of Englishmen whom Monstrelet could number at 5000. His first duty was to the town, which he so manfully and successfully defended.

CHAPTER XXI

CAPTIVITY

THE soldiers, with shouts of joy, led the Maid to their quarters. The Duke of Burgundy, who had come up too late for the fighting, went to see her. "Some words he exchanged with her," says Monstrelet, who was present, "which I do not well remember." It is not likely that the Duke had the better in the exchange of words, and Monstrelet may have preferred to forget them.

Both the Duke and Jean de Luxembourg wrote joyous despatches containing the glad news. Luxembourg addressed his to his brother, Bishop of Thérouanne, and Chancellor of France under Henry VI. So great a prize as the Maid was not permitted to a mere archer; the property in her lay between the Bastard de Wandonne and his superior, Jean de Luxembourg. He was in English pay, so the King of England had a claim on Jeanne, as he especially asserted a claim to Charles VII, if taken, and to other French princes. (*See* Note.)

Thus it was Jean de Luxembourg who finally got the money for which Jeanne was bought and sold; and perhaps historical candour may admit that, as he was in English pay, by the rules of war he could not but give her up, just as the Scots had no choice but to hand Charles I over to the English. Neither they nor Jean were compelled to take the blood-money.

The capture rejoiced the hearts of the false French and of the Archbishop of Reims. The University of Paris, violently Burgundian, and the Vicar-General of the Inquisition, wrote (the Inquisitor on May 26) to the Duke of Burgundy, asking that Jeanne might be handed over to Inquisitorial mercies and "the

justice of the Church." The other letter is undated: the writers say that "they fear the malice of wicked persons, *who, as is said,* are taking great pains to release the said woman, in exquisite ways."

The English had, from the first, proclaimed their intention to burn Jeanne d'Arc alive, if they could catch her. They had even consulted the University of Paris, in May 1429, on the propriety of burning her herald. But the first persons to take practical steps towards burning the Maid were the French doctors and priests, lights of the Gallican Church. French priests and lawyers tried her, with infamous injustice; the unnamed witnesses against her were French; French priests and lawyers condemned her, and handed her over to a French executioner: and all these things they did with zest, and would have done, had there been no English concerned; had the quarrel been solely between Armagnacs and Franco-Burgundians. Moreover, the odious English tradition about the Maid was based on French authorities.

We know nothing of any attempt by the Maid's party to release her, either by purchasing her from Jean de Luxembourg (who would probably, if he could, have sold her to the highest bidder), or by threatening reprisals on Anglo-Burgundian prisoners, or by the sword. The King and clergy of her party did not even appeal to the Pope. Jeanne, as far as our authorities enlighten us, was absolutely abandoned, except by the good people who, in extant collects, pray God to break her irons. The King was at Jargeau when a messenger from Compiègne, after the disaster, brought the request of the people that he would aid them. Probably they mentioned the capture of the Maid; if so, the fact is not recorded. Charles answered that he would come swiftly in person to relieve the city; of course he broke his Royal word.

The Archbishop of Reims betrays the tone of the French clergy and of the King's advisers. His letter to the people of Reims, great friends of the Maid, has only reached us in a summary made in the seventeenth century; but that is enough to damn the Archbishop. He tells the news of the capture, and says that

Jeanne "would not take advice, but did as she chose." To what advice he refers, we know not. Had he wanted the Maid to accompany him, when they parted at Soissons on May 18? Did he ask her to aid the people of Reims, who, after all their anxiety, were in no danger of a siege?

After his callous and ungrateful observation about the girl who had restored him to his see (even if she had perhaps prevented him from embezzling a crown), the Archbishop shows an extreme cynicism. God, he writes, has sent a new prophet, a shepherd boy, "who says neither more nor less than Jeanne la Pucelle. *He* is commanded by God to go to the King, and defeat the English and Burgundians." The young shepherd also criticises the Maid: "God has suffered Jeanne to be taken because of her bride and her rich raiment, and because she had acted after her own will, and not followed the commands laid on her by God."

The boy knew what these divine commands were, and that was enough for the Archbishop. They actually took this boy to the army, where he rode sideways, and displayed stigmata after the manner of St. Francis. The English caught him in a battle where they also caught de Saintrailles, exhibited him in triumph when Henry VI entered Paris, and drowned him without trial. The Archbishop reveals amazing depths of French cynicism or superstition. It was easy for the boy to "*say* neither more nor less than the Maid"; to *do* more, or as much, was not found possible.

All clerics were not on the level of the mitred one of Reims. The Archbishop of Embrun wrote to his King words as bold and true as the Archbishop of Glasgow wrote to Mary Stuart after Darnley's murder. "For the recovery of this girl, and for the ransom of her life, I bid you spare neither means nor money, howsoever great the price, unless you would incur the indelible shame of most disgraceful ingratitude." The King preferred to keep the shame, and his money for his pleasures and for La Trémoïlle. He had less than princely gratitude; and she, in sight of the stake, and amidst a throng of angry English soldiers and

hateful French priests, proclaimed him "the noblest Christian in the world." His apologist suggests that Charles really could not help it, not being his own master, and that he was very sorry.

After keeping Jeanne for three or four days at Clairoix, Jean de Luxembourg sent her to the castle of Beaulieu in the Vermandois, a place of which the Bastard of Wandonne was then, or later, captain. She was treated as a prisoner of war; d'Aulon attended her, and the d'Alençon chronicler probably received the following anecdote from d'Aulon himself. One day he said to her, "That poor town of Compiègne, which you have loved so dearly, will now be placed in the hands of the enemies of France."

"It shall not be," answered Jeanne, "for no places which the King of Heaven has put in the hands of the gentle King Charles by my aid, shall be retaken by his enemies while he does his best to keep them."

The words are in the very style of the Maid. The King showed no diligence in succouring Compiègne; but the skill and tenacity of de Flavy, and the courageous endurance of the townsfolk, enabled the city to hold out till, on October 25–26, they were rescued by a combined movement of Vendôme and Saintrailles, and a sortie of the citizens *en masse*. The enemy was forced to make a sudden and shameful retreat, losing all the Burgundian artillery, guns of position, and field-pieces; and many adjacent strong places and towns. The Anglo-Burgundian plan of campaign was shattered.

Meanwhile the condition of Compiègne for five weary months preyed on the mind of Jeanne, who cherished the hope of escaping, and living or dying with the townsfolk. Her idea was to escape *intra duas pecias nemoris*, which appears to mean "between two groves"; the French has *entre deux pièces de boys*, usually rendered "between two planks." To her judges she said, "I never was prisoner in any place but I would gladly have escaped." She was not under parole; she had given her faith to no man. "I would have locked up my guardian in a certain tower, but the porter saw me and stopped me. As it seems to me

it was not God's will that I should then escape. My Voices told me that needs must I see the King of England," a boy whom, as she observed, she did not wish to see.

Meanwhile, soon after July 14, Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, expelled from his see by the arms of France, presented himself at the camp of Jean de Luxembourg before Compiègne. He was a violent enemy of France; he had a personal hatred of the Maid, and he was commissioned by Bedford to extract her from the hands of Jean de Luxembourg. The Maid had been taken within the limits of Cauchon's see; so he said, but the Chanoine Dunand avers that Compiègne was not in the see of Beauvais but of Soissons. Cauchon claimed to be her judge, but that he could not be without authority delegated from the Bishop of Soissons or of Toul. He had no such authority. He maintained that Henry VI, as King of France, had a right to the person of any captured king, prince, or person of high rank, at a price of 10,000 francs. Jeanne was no princess, she was a peasant girl, but she was worth a Royal ransom to the English. Their hearts were set on release from the terror with which the girl had paralysed their men; they desired the most cruel of revenges; they were anxious, as were the French priests and doctors, their subjects, to involve the King of France in their victim's guilt as a heretic and a sorceress. To these infamies had fallen chivalry and faith; knights were eager to burn the bravest of their enemies, a woman; priests were determined to destroy the sweetest Christian alive.

Cauchon represented the meanest of mercenary surrenders, the selling of the Maid to the English, as the first duty of chivalry. "The foremost oath of the Order of Chivalry is to guard and defend the honour of God." The honour of God! He mentioned the report "*on dit*" that the French were trying to release Jeanne by way of ransom. It is always "*on dit!*" There is no trace of any such attempt to outbid England. "The Church" demands the body of the Maid, and offers English gold. The impudence with which Cauchon covers the priests of his party under the name of the Church is not the least of his offences. The Church

was assembling for the Council of Basel; the Council, if any body of men, were the judges of the Maid. To the Council, finally, she appealed—but only the first words of her appeal are written in the French minute of her trial; in the official Latin version they are suppressed. Such was the justice of Cauchon's "Church," *Ecclesia Malignantium*, the Assembly of the Malignants.

There is a story to the effect that the English nobles at Rouen desired to sew Jeanne up in a sack and drown her out of hand in the river. It had been a merciful death. But the Earl of Warwick pointed out to them the moral advantage of burning her as a heretic. The anecdote is of late origin; it appears in a Latin epic on the Maid, printed in 1516.

It seems that the stay of Jeanne at Beaulieu was not for more than a fortnight. There was a report that she had escaped, founded, perhaps, on her attempt to escape. She was now removed to Beaurevoir Castle, forty miles north of Beaulieu, where she lay between the beginning of June and the end of September. Here she was in the friendly hands of ladies; the aunt of Jean de Luxembourg, Jeanne, who was old and near her death; Jeanne de Bethune, Vicomtesse de Meaux, his wife; and her daughter by a former marriage, Jeanne de Bar.

The ladies were anxious that she should lay aside man's dress and provided her with stuff for gowns. She replied that she could not obey them without leave from God: "It was not yet time"; her dress was a symbol of her resolute adherence to her mission.

In a recapitulation of the evidence, not in the record itself, it is recorded that she said, "The Demoiselle de Luxembourg" (the oldest of the three ladies) "begged Jean de Luxembourg not to hand me over to the English." This is an example of the omissions in the reports of her answers; the fact, so honourable to the Demoiselle and to womanhood, does not appear in the minute. "I would have changed my fashion of dress, if it had been within my duty, at the request of these two ladies, rather than for any soul in France, except my Queen."

One Haimond de Macy, a knight, saw the Maid at Beaurevoir,

and attempted to take liberties with her, which she repulsed. Another captive, Mary Stuart, would probably have escaped by aid of Haimond de Macy. But Jeanne, says de Macy, "was of honest conversation in word and deed." She could not stoop to the use of feminine witcheries. De Macy's evidence closes thus: "I believe she is in Paradise."

Jeanne's mind was entirely engaged in pity for the folk of Compiègne, and anxiety about the siege, an operation as important as the siege of Orleans. She had heard that, if the town were stormed, all within it over seven years of age were to be massacred: her enemies had attributed similar designs to the French, if they captured Paris. After long argument with her Voices, which dissuaded her, she leaped from the tower, and by some miracle broke no bone of her body. She was found insensible.

"I would rather die than live after such a massacre of good people," she said to her judges, "*And that was one of the reasons of my leap from the tower of Beaurevoir.* The other reason was, that I was sold to the English; and I would rather die than be in the hands of my enemies of England." She had good reason for her choice.

"Did your Voices bid you leap?"

"Nay, St. Catherine almost daily forbade me, saying that God would help them of Compiègne. I answered that since God would aid them, I desired to be with them. St. Catherine answered: 'You must bear these things gladly, and delivered you will not be till you have seen the King of England.' 'Verily,' I answered, 'I have no will to see him, and would rather die than be in English hands.'"

"Did you say to the Saints, 'Will God let these good folk of Compiègne perish in such evil fashion?'"

(Can any one have overheard her own voice parleying with her Saints?)

"No, I did not say 'in such evil fashion.' I said, 'What, will God leave these good people to die, who have been and who

are so loyal to their Lord?' After I fell, I was two or three days without tasting food; and was so much injured that I could neither eat nor drink. Yet I was comforted by St. Catherine, who bade me confess, and pray God's pardon for having leaped. She told me, moreover, that they of Compiègne should have succour before Martinmas." (They had succour about a fortnight before Martinmas.) "Then I recovered, and began to eat, and soon was well."

"Did you expect to kill yourself when you leaped?"

"No, I recommended myself to God, and hoped to escape and not to be given up to the English."

"When you recovered speech did you curse God and the Saints, as our evidence shows?"

"I cannot remember that I ever did such a thing, there or anywhere; and I did not tell it in confession, for I have no memory of any such thing. I leave it to God and no other, and to faithful confession."

The height of the tower of Beaurevoir must have been about sixty feet. There is a version of this incident, according to which Jeanne attempted to let herself down from the tower by some method, but the attachment broke. It is only certain that she knew her enterprise to be almost desperate, and that she disobeyed her Voices, repented, confessed, and was forgiven.

About this time two women visionaries, who had been in the Maid's company in November or December 1430, fell into the hands of the English. One of them recanted, the other, La Pierronne, was resolute in retaining her faith in the Maid and in her own visions of the Deity in medieval costume, a long white robe and a scarlet *hucque*. She was burned alive on September 3. It was the policy of the Inquisitor to class together Jeanne, Catherine of La Rochelle, and the two others as "four poor women all alike governed by Brother Richard." The same policy was that of Beaumarchais, and is adopted by a recent historian: Jeanne and the rest are "the Saints of the Dauphin Charles," *le béguinage royal*. It is edifying to find a modern

votary of historical science in full agreement with the Church—as represented by the Grand Inquisitor, who was the foe of his country and the willing tool of his country's enemies and oppressors.

ξυνώμοσαν γὰρ ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρίν
πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα.

From Beaurevoir, Jeanne made her only known appeal to members of her party. Two citizens of the loyal town of Tournai, men who had been at her King's coronation, happened to visit the castle, and by them she sent a letter to their city, praying for the gift of twenty or thirty gold crowns for her needs. It appears that the townsfolk of Tournai supplied her with the pieces of gold.

We may be sure that the kind ladies of Luxembourg did not allow Jeanne to want for anything while she was under their roof. But she now knew that she was sold, that she must leave them. The Bishop of Beauvais, Cauchon, had travelled to Beaurevoir, to Compiègne, to Flanders, to the Duke of Burgundy, in full cry for her blood. He was paid 765 *livres tournois* for his exertions, which were continued to the last day of September 1430.

The result of his negotiations was the removal of the Maid to Arras, in Burgundian territory. Here Jean de Pressy and others tried to induce her to wear female attire; and here, in the hands of a Scottish archer, she saw a picture of herself, in full armour, kneeling and handing a letter to her King. She never saw another picture of herself, never caused any to be made; but there was abundance of popular imagery, designed from memory or from imagination. Her accuser says that people "deemed her the greatest of the Saints after Our Lady, and placed images and representations of her in the churches," for which she was not responsible. She was asked whether she had got possession of files at Beaurevoir and Arras. "If they were found on me I have no need to answer." Possibly the Scottish archer managed to smuggle a file into her hands; one would gladly think so.

England now had only to raise the blood-money for Jean de

Luxembourg; and as the country was weary of war imposts, Bedford got 120,000 *livres* from the Estates of Normandy, of which 10,000 were to be devoted to the purchase of "Jehanne la Pucelle, said to be a witch, and certainly a military personage, leader of the hosts of the Dauphin." The English, like the French, thought Jeanne a war leader; it has been left to modern writers to contradict them.

The tax had to be collected, which caused delay, but in November, Jean de Luxembourg, resisting the prayers of the lady, his aunt, had sold the girl, recognised as "a prisoner of war," to those who, as he knew, meant to burn her alive. To do so was, according to Cauchon, the foremost duty of a chivalrous gentleman. She passed a night at the castle of Drugy, and thence was taken to Crotoy, a castle by the sea.

We have already heard of Haimond de Macy, who persecuted Jeanne with his attentions at Beaurevoir. He says that at Crotoy she was a constant hearer of the Masses said by Nicolas de Queuville, Chancellor of the Church of Amiens, a loyal Frenchman and a prisoner, who heard Jeanne in confession, and said that she was a most devout and excellent Christian; so much may the opinions of Churchmen differ! Cauchon would let her hear no Mass; and it may be doubted if he allowed her confession, except on the last day of her earthly life.

The French Doctors of the English party were exasperated by the delays. The University of Paris, on November 21, accused Cauchon of want of zeal in the good cause! Jeanne ought to be tried, they said, at Paris, "for the glory of God." Little Henry VI, a somewhat feeble-minded boy, was also appealed to by the Doctors of Paris. We see how eager and determined these Frenchmen were to destroy the Maid; they spurred on the English.

The English, of course, were glad enough to serve the turn of these false Frenchmen. They brought her to Rouen in November, and incarcerated her in a tower of the ancient castle of Philip Augustus. She ought, if a prisoner of the Church, to have been in courteous prison, with women about her. She was placed "in

a dark cell, fettered and in irons," say eye-witnesses. In her cell was a heavy iron cage; one witness saw her in the den, ironed, but not in the cage or *huche*. Such was the courtesy of England that Edward I kept the Countess of Buchan in a similar cage, though not exposed, as legend has it, on the castle wall. In *The Miracles of Madame Saint Catherine of Fierbois* we often hear of these huches for the accommodation of prisoners. She was guarded by John Gray and William Talbot, with their merry men; and this daily and nightly companionship with English archers was the most hellish part of the infamous cruelty of the English. Had she been in the hands not of the English, but of the Duke of Burgundy, the French priests of his party would certainly have burned her; but we do not know that Philip of Burgundy would have sunk to the depths of shame that were reached by the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Warwick.

The Maid often complained that her English companions used to bully and ill-treat her, says Colles, a notary employed at her trial. Haimond de Macy says that, in the company of Jean de Luxembourg, he visited her; that Jean said he would ransom her if she would swear not to take arms again. "In God's name, you mock me; I know that you have neither the will nor the power." Jean persisted; she replied, "I know these English will do me to death, thinking, when I am dead, to win the kingdom of France. But if they were a hundred thousand *Godons* more than they are, they shall not have the kingdom."

Stafford drew his dagger to despatch her: she desired nothing more; but the astute Warwick stayed his hand. When an earl thus forgot himself, we may imagine the ribaldry of her daily and nightly companions, "five English *houcepailliers* of the basest degree." People used to go to stare at her and banter her.

Perhaps the less we think of all this the better. But on one point we may well reflect. Jeanne endured the irons, the chains, the hideous company of the merry men, because she refused to be on parole not to attempt an escape. This is one more example of her matchless courage and resolution. For five months she

bore things intolerable rather than give her faith to any man, rather than abandon the chance of resuming her task. Great in everything as she was, we here see her at her greatest.

Jeanne was consigned to Cauchon, as judge in her case, on January 3, 1431. "It is our intention to repossess ourselves of her, if she be not convicted of her many crimes of High Treason to God," Henry VI is made to say. If not convicted, she could still be drowned by the English, and on this understanding the Bishop of Beauvais conducted her trial! She was now in the hands of the Church, but was still kept in the harshest military prison. As Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was the chief gaoler of the Maid, it may be as well to remember who he was. Born in January 1381–1382, he had Richard II and Archbishop Scrope for his godfathers. He fought at Shrewsbury against Douglas and the Percys, and received the Order of the Garter. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and performed in Russian, Lithuanian, and Polish tournaments. He was a negotiator in the Treaty of Troyes; later, "he aided much in subduing the Lollards," and assisted at the Council of Constance. By the Emperor Sigismund he was named "The Father of Courtesy." He fought at the siege of Rouen when it was taken by the English; and on the death of Henry V, by advice of an English visionary, Dame Eleanor Raughton, of All Hallows, North Street, York, he was made Governor to Henry VI. His career is commemorated in fifty-three pencil drawings of a later generation, published by the Earl of Carysfort as "The Pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick." The artist has not chosen to represent the glorious doings of his hero in the case of Jeanne d'Arc. The "King-maker," Earl of Warwick, was a son-in-law of this great Englishman.

CHAPTER XXII

THE TRIAL

I

HAD Jeanne d'Arc a fair and lawful trial? The question has been angrily debated, because, on the one side, some French historians, though devoted to the Maid, have felt bound to allow the judges fair play, and to look at the question with the eyes of clerical lawyers of the fifteenth century (in which they have not been successful); while other historians, again, have been carried away by the passion of pity for the innocent and noble victim, and declare the judges under Cauchon to have been capable even of forgery. As regards the trial, no person in the situation of Jeanne, a feared and hated captive in hostile hands,—no man accused of high treason or of witchcraft,—had anywhere, for centuries after 1431, the slightest chance of being fairly tried. More than two hundred years later than 1431, a great Scottish lawyer, Sir George Mackenzie, observed that he had scarcely ever known a witch to be acquitted, if tried, as was customary, by the judgment of the neighbours. The witch was usually arrested on the ground of public rumour (*fama*) of her guilt, a great element in Jeanne's own case. The Scottish witch was tortured, illegally, into confession; she was not allowed, as by the Inquisition, any place for repentance; and she was burned, with the full approval of the Scottish preachers, two of whom led her to the stake. Her sufferings in prison, from torture, cold, and starvation, were not inferior to those of the Maid.

Jeanne d'Arc was used in much the same way; for she, too, was to the French of the Anglo-Burgundian party an object of

terror and hatred. It must be remembered that wealth, rank, and gallant military service could not save an accused wizard and heretic, even among his own people. The companion-in-arms of the Maid, the Maréchal de Rais, who had fought with her at Les Augustins, at the Tourelles, and at Paris, was tried, like her, for magic, heresy, and unspeakable crimes. He was condemned, like her, by judges who had a strong personal interest in his ruin; and was found guilty on evidence which, to-day, would be reckoned worthless, as Monsieur Salomon Reinach has demonstrated. Guilty he may have been, but he was not proved to be guilty by external evidence, as we reckon proof. This kind of unfairness was not greater than that which, under Charles II, procured the execution of many innocent priests and laymen during the panic of the "Popish Plot" devised by Titus Oates; while, at the same period, the trials for treason, in Scotland, were a proverb for injustice. Cauchon and his company were not unique in their guilt.

Just as Catholics, in the affair of the "Popish Plot," discerned the wicked dishonesty of the proceedings, so did Protestants discern it when their turn came to suffer for the Rye House Plot. In the same way, when the party of Jeanne was victorious, the judges in the Trial of Rehabilitation (1450–1456) upset the law and denounced the injustice of her judges in 1431.

Concerning her trial, we have the official record of the men who condemned her, a document certainly not unimpeachable; and we have the evidence of some of the same men, given in 1450–1456. It was on the later occasion their interest to prove their own sympathy with the victim, and to accuse the chief agents in her trial. Some of the witnesses had, in fact, been sympathetic, even though they lacked the courage to pronounce her innocent. But, in 1450–1456, they had a new bias, and, after the lapse of more than twenty years, their memories were probably malleable and plastic. We can only examine the two sets of testimonies, the hostile report of the trial, the friendly later reports of the witnesses.

The affair opens with a statement by Cauchon and Le Maître,

Vice Inquisitor in the diocese of Rouen. On February 19 this unhappy man tried to shuffle out of the business, as holding office only in the diocese of Rouen, whereas the case was said to belong to the diocese of Beauvais. His conscience, he said, was not at ease; however, by command of the chief Inquisitor, he sat among the judges after March 13. Cauchon and this timid shaveling were the only *judges*; the rest of the clergy present were mere assessors, whose votes Cauchon could, and did, ignore.

The preliminary document states that there is a *fama*, or common report, against Jeanne for shamefully wearing male attire, and doing and saying many things contrary to the Catholic faith. On January 9 a solemn deliberation on her case has been held by Doctors in canon law and in theology, by abbots and Masters of Arts, including Migiet (accused of favouring Jeanne) and Loiselleur, or Loyseleur, a canon of Rouen, and a *mouton*, or prison spy, who insinuated himself into the confidence of the Maid, and combined the functions of judge, *mouton*, and (it is said) of confessor. This feat is in accordance with the etiquette of Inquisitorial justice, say Quicherat and others. Their authority hardly justifies them. "Let none approach the heretic, save occasionally *two* faithful and adroit persons to warn him, cautiously, and as if in compassion, to secure himself against death by confessing his errors. . . ." This rule does not really warrant Loiselleur's visits to Jeanne in the disguise of a shoemaker from her own country, persuading her to adhere to her belief in her visions (so Migiet says); while Estivet, the "Promoter" of the trial, played the same part. As Jeanne does not seem to have been allowed a confessor, it is not probable that she confessed to Loiselleur, though this was believed by his accomplice, Thomas de Courcelles, and by Manchon, the clerk. If Loiselleur died suddenly of remorse at Basle his remorse worked tardily; he seems to have expired thirty-four years after the trial.

We see, in the opening document of the trial, the kind of company which judged the Maid. These virtuous associates first deliberated on the evidence (*information*) already accessible. Cauchon told them what he had got, and directed that more should

be procured. He appointed some of his assessors to arrange and digest the evidence. Among them was de la Fontaine, who attempted, later, to enlighten Jeanne on some points, was threatened by Cauchon, and fled from Rouen. Estivet was more true to his master, Cauchon; he acted as prison spy, bullied the clerks, and died later in obscure circumstances, if that matters!

The clerks — ecclesiastical notaries — Manchon and Colles, represented themselves, in 1450–1456, as honourable, sympathetic, but timorous. All these people, all the judges and assessors, were clerics of good fame, legal learning, and ecclesiastical distinction. Many were canons of Rouen, abbots in Normandy, Doctors and even passed Rectors of the University of Paris, furiously Burgundian; among these the most notable was Guillaume Erard, a friend, a constant friend, of Machet, the confessor of Charles VII. Machet continued to speak of Erard as "a man of illustrious virtue and heavenly wisdom." Now Machet had been on the Commission at Poitiers which approved of the Maid, and his persistent admiration of Erard shows the pusillanimity of the clergy of her party. Moreover, Erard, when preaching at the Maid, averred that her King had adhered to a heretic and a schismatic, or even said, "Jeanne, I speak to you, and I tell you that your King is heretic and schismatic." He had his answer, we have quoted it before, "My King is the most noble of all Christians." She was more true to her King than was his tutor and confessor.

Another light of the University was Nicole Midi, falsely said to have died early of leprosy. He welcomed Charles VII on his entry into Paris!

Another judge, one of the very few who voted for the torture of the Maid, was Thomas de Courcelles, much admired, during the Council of Basle, by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II. He was, says the Pope, "respected for his learning and amiable in his character, so modest that he was always looking at the ground, like one who would fain pass unnoticed." He had good reason, before he died, for trying to escape observation. This

most eminent of professors became dear to Jeanne's King, and preached his funeral sermon. Let us be lenient to a fault of youth; *cette faute de jeunesse*, says Quicherat! In 1431 the would-be tormentor of the Maid was only thirty, a down-looking pedant, whose skulking and evasive replies, at the Trial of Rehabilitation, prove that his memory was strangely defective. He could remember little, and remembered unveraciously, about his own conduct.

Despite his pitiable appearance in the Trial of Rehabilitation, Courcelles wormed himself into Royal favour. In 1516 a French poet, Valeran Varanius, published a Latin epic on the Maid, *De Gestis Joannæ, Virginis Franciæ.* He based his poem, in a manner most unusual, not on legend, but on the two manuscript records of the trials of 1431, 1450–1456. At the close of his Fourth Book he gives, in hexameters, the "Oration of Thomas de Courcelles on Illustrious Women." After exhibiting much classical and Biblical lore concerning ancient heroines, Thomas delivers himself of a long panegyric on Jeanne, her patriotism, and the cruelty of the English, who would not allow her to have a confessor or an advocate. With *this* cruelty the English had nothing to do; the French clerks saw to these matters. He defends the authenticity of the Voices, praises the Maid for her devoutness, tells the legend of the white dove that hovered over her ashes at the stake, and, in fact, adroitly recommends himself to the new state of opinion!

Why does Varanius make Courcelles deliver this speech to the managers of the Trial of Rehabilitation? Varanius well knew the shabby and shameful part which Courcelles really played at that trial. One may guess, *periculo suo*, that Courcelles, in later years, did compose a kind of rhetorical exercise on Illustrious Women, and found it convenient to praise Jeanne at the expense of the English; while Varanius turned the bad Latin of Courcelles into his own inelegant hexameters, and introduced it into his epic.

Thomas was paid 113 *livres* for his work in condemning the

Maid, in which he tried to insinuate that he took little part. The labourer is worthy of his hire. In editing the *Procès* this humble person, not desiring to be observed, left out his own name occasionally. Uriah Heep was not more 'umble.

Loiselleur, Estivet, Cauchon, and Erard are all great, but the greatest is the modest Thomas de Courcelles.

Of the judges, many were strongly of the Burgundian party; others, holding benefices in Normandy, an English possession, were in favour of whatever upheld the existing state of things; a few were not devoted to the English cause, and were influenced, as far as their timidity would permit, by sentiments of pity and justice. Few had the boldness of Jean de Lohier. Concerning him the modest Thomas, who "could not remember having heard any of the evidence against Jeanne read," depones thus: Lohier was at Rouen, and the *Procès* was to be communicated to him, apparently by Thomas, for his opinion. He told Thomas that "in his view Jeanne could not be proceeded against in matter of faith except on evidence proving that there was a *fama* against her; the production of such information was legally necessary." It was not publicly produced, nor is it given in the official record. Manchon, the notary and clerk, says that Lohier asked for three days to consider the documents, and declared that the mode of the trial was not valid. (1) It was held in a castle, where men were not at liberty to give their full and free opinions. (2) The honour of the King of France was impeached; he was a party in the suit, yet did not appear, and had no representative. (3) The "libel," or accusation, had not been given to the Maid, and she had no counsel; she a simple girl, tried in deep matters of faith. To Manchon, Lohier said, "You see how they are going on! They will catch her in her words, as when she says, 'I know for certain that I touched the apparitions.' If she said, 'so it seemed to me,' I think no man could condemn her." She would never have said that!

Cauchon was very angry, and Lohier had to fly the country: he was threatened with drowning; he died at Rome.

Nicolas de Houppeville was also imprisoned for saying that the procedure was not valid: since Cauchon and others were enemies of the accused, who had been passed as orthodox at Poitiers by Cauchon's superior and Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Reims. As to the Archbishop of Reims, Cauchon could plead that he, and the inquirers at Poitiers, had recognised their error by not in any way acknowledging and standing up for the Maid.

The preliminary *Instruction*, or presentation of hostile evidence, about which Lohier spoke, was another matter. It is not denied, as we have already seen, that evidence about the fairies and the Fairy tree was taken at Domremy, though the favourable evidence was suppressed (cf. pp. 34–36).

The evidence, or the fairy part of it, was read to the judges on February 13, as the documents edited by Courcelles state, and other testimonies from other places were perused. From this information articles were to be drawn up by the Doctors in Law. By February 19 the astute Loiselleur and others had composed these articles. On February 23 the articles were read before Doctors from Paris and Courcelles,—whose memory did not retain the circumstance. Manchon, too, could remember no such informations (he must have heard them read), but was sure that they were not inserted in the *Procès* by himself. In fact, they nowhere appear. "The documents of the *Instruction* were produced," says Quicherat, "but were not inserted in the *Procès*," as they ought to have been. We do not know the names of the witnesses, or anything about them: there is no evidence against Jeanne. We know the kind of tattle that was collected, even at Compiègne and other places under French allegiance, through the seventy articles presented against the Maid by Estivet, the promoter and prison spy

Many witnesses, or tattlers, had been examined, not one was cited. Jeanne, like Mary Stuart on more than one occasion, was judged on the evidence of persons with whom she was not confronted, whose very names were unknown to her. The peasant girl had from the French judges the same measure of injustice

as the Scottish Queen, a hundred and fifty years later, received from the English Court. The practices of the Inquisition were no better than those of English justice under Queen Elizabeth where a feared and hated captive was concerned.

The Maid was condemned, after all, on her own confessions malignantly interpolated and erroneously stated by her examiners. She averred that she *had* seen, touched, heard, and adored her Saints; and as these were ruled to be devils, she was guilty. No more was needed, according to Cauchon's idea of justice. It was stated, as matter of fact and of her own confession, that she had evoked and worshipped devils. Her evidence, on the other hand, did not even bear that she had evoked her Saints by a direct appeal. She had addressed herself to God in prayer, and He had heard and had sent the Voices to her. The annals of witchcraft probably contain no example, certainly none is known to me, of a sorcerer who summons fiends by an appeal to God. The men who drew up this charge were conscious liars and deliberate murderers.

On February 21 the first public session was held before a set of forty-two clerics; formal business was transacted, and Estivet, the promoter, demanded the Maid's appearance. She had asked to be allowed to hear Mass, her chief comfort in life; her petition was refused. She was under charges so grave that she must not be allowed, by these merciful churchmen, the consolations of their religion. She had also requested that clerics of her own party might be among the assessors. They were not permitted to come, and, as far as we can judge by their silence and the contemptuous words of him of Reims, they would not have come had they been summoned. An exception must be made for the loyal Jacques Gélu, Archbishop of Embrun, who spoke his mind freely to his recreant King.

According to Jean Massieu, an officer of the Court examined in 1450–1456, Jeanne asked not only that the clergy of her party should have representatives among her judges, but that she might have the assistance of counsel. Her petition was rejected. The

official report says nothing about this request and refusal. Later, Jeanne was asked if she would accept the aid of a legal adviser, which she declined. We cannot be certain that Massieu spoke the truth on this point, twenty-five years later: his evidence is often under suspicion. The question as to whether Cauchon had the right, as Quicherat averred, to refuse counsel, under the rules of ecclesiastical procedure, is intricate and difficult. References to authorities are given in the Notes.

Jeanne was brought into court; she wore a page's black suit, an outrage to the chaste eyes of the learned. She was bidden to speak the whole truth; and at this time, as always, she refused to take the oath without qualification. "I do not know on what subjects you will question me." She had received no "libel," as it is called in Scottish law, such was their idea of justice. "You may ask me things which I will not tell you. About revelations to my King I will not speak if you cut my head off." Her "Counsel" might later give her some licence to speak. She swore, save on these topics, to answer questions touching matters of faith. Her oath, thus limited, was accepted. She did answer on points of her name and parentage, and was invited to repeat the *Pater Noster* after the bishop. She would not do so, except in confession. They seem to have held the old belief that a witch could not say the *Pater Noster*—except backwards. She refused to give her parole not to attempt to escape; she would never cease to try, and would not give parole; no man should be able to say she had broken parole. She was handed over to John Gray, an Esquire, to William Talbot, and another English gaoler, though she should have been in an ecclesiastical prison with women about her. In her examinations, before she could answer Midi, Courcelles would be at her with another question, or Beaupère would interrupt Touraine.

In the early examinations in the chapel she was interrupted at almost every word, and secretaries of the English King recorded her replies as they pleased. Manchon said that he would throw up his task as clerk, and the scene was changed for another

chamber, two English men-at-arms guarding the door. The records were variously written, and were disputed, so Manchon marked such passages for reconsideration and further interrogation.

The season was Lent, and, in the morning examinations, the Maid had been fasting since the one meal of the previous day. But nothing shook her strength and courage. When Massieu accompanied her from her cell to the hall of inquiry, he was wont to let her pray in front of the chapel. Estivet rebuked Massieu, "Rogue, how do you dare to let that excommunicate whore come so near the church? I shall put you in a tower whence you shall not see sun or moon for a month if you go on thus." Massieu did not change his way, and Jeanne, asking, "Is not the Body of our Lord in that chapel?" was prevented by Estivet from praying near that holy place.

Are we to suppose that Massieu invented all these outrages? They look brutally real, but Massieu was a man of loose life, perhaps of loose tongue.

There were forty-seven of these divines in court on the second day (February 22); one of the session was a doctor in medicine. Jeanne made the usual qualifications as to her oath, for she perfectly understood that they desired to elicit answers compromising to her King as to his secret, the sign she had given to him.

It is unnecessary to repeat answers which have already been quoted in the accounts of her early life, and of her Voices and Visions. We shall take up, in Appendix C, some of the gravest charges against her, and follow each by itself through the investigation. These questions referred to the King's secret, to the wearing of male attire, to alleged false prophecies, to the fairies of Domremy (a subject already exhausted, pp. 34–36), and to other points. The questions were purposely mixed and confused so as to entrap the Maid in contradictions, and they can only be understood when each subject is disengaged and examined apart.

On the third day (February 24) she warned Cauchon of the risk he ran by taking upon him to be her judge. Had he cherished

his reputation he would have done wisely in accepting the warning. The examination was mainly an attempt to elicit replies about the aspect of the Saints; and about the fairies. Of the fairies she spoke as freely as if she had been at a Folklore Congress. They asked her the unfair question, "Do you know that you are in a state of grace?" If she replied, "Yes," she was presumptuous; if "No," she condemned herself. Her inspired reply was, "If I am not in grace, may God bring me thither; if I am, God keep me there." No clerk could have answered more wisely, no Christian more graciously.

Many witnesses spoke of the Maid as a simple ignorant thing. In fact her genius rose to every occasion.

Between February 24 and 27 no examination was held, probably because of Jeanne's illness. At the Trial of Rehabilitation, two physicians were examined, Tiphaine of Paris, and de la Chambre. Both said that they had been reluctant to sit as assessors, and only yielded to fear; de la Chambre voted (not unconditionally) for her condemnation,—though, as he said, it was not his affair as a medical man,—being coerced by threats. It does not appear that they were consulted as to the pathology of Jeanne's Voices and visions. Tiphaine found her in a tower, with irons on her legs. He heard one examiner ask her if she had ever been present when English blood was shed.

"In God's name, yes! How mildly you talk! Why did they not leave France, and go back to their own country?"

Thereon a great English lord, in a very English way, cried, "She is a brave girl! If only she were English!" The chivalry of England here made its nearest approach to appreciating the Flower of Chivalry.

It was Estivet who brought Tiphaine to see the Maid in her sickness. She attributed it to having eaten of a carp, a present from Cauchon. Estivet called her by the most shameful names at his command, and said that she had eaten herring. There was a passage of angry words. De la Chambre was called in on the same occasion by Cardinal Beaufort and the Earl of Warwick,

Captain of Rouen. The King of England, said Warwick, "the Father of Courtesy," held Jeanne dear, and expensive; not for worlds would he have her die a natural death, burned she must be; and when de la Chambre proposed to bleed her, Warwick said that she might take the opportunity of suicide. De la Chambre also heard the brutal words of Estivet.

After being let blood the Maid recovered, and was again examined on February 27. They were curious about the Voices, about her reasons for wearing male dress, and about the King's secret, the sword of Fierbois, her standard, and her use of the words JHESUS MARIA. She told them about her prophecy of her arrow wound at Orleans, and about the storming of Jargeau. Questioned about the prominence of her standard at the coronation, she said "it had been in the strife, it might share the honour."

The fifth day was March 1. They examined her on her letter to the Comte d'Armagnac, concerning the true Pope. Then she broke into prophecies of a most annoying kind, which they were to see fulfilled within a few years. "I know that before seven years are passed the English will lose a greater stake than they did at Orleans" (they lost Paris in 1436), "and that they will lose all they hold in France. They will have sorer loss than ever before in France, through a great victory given by God to the French." (The battle of Formigny, 1439, with loss of Normandy.) "I know by revelation that this will be in seven years"; if she meant to include Formigny, she was wrong by a year.

It has been argued, correctly I venture to think, that Jeanne did not include the English loss of "all they held in France" within the seven years before which they will lose Paris. ("Item, dicit *quod* antequam sint septem anni, Anglici demittent majus vadium quam fecerint coram Aurelianis, *et quod* totum perdent in Francis.")

They returned to the personal aspect of her Saints, vainly, and asked about her rings. "You have one of them, give it back to me. The Burgundians have another. Let me see my ring. My

father or mother gave me the ring which the Burgundians have. I think the words on it were JHESUS MARIA" (she could not read a letter), "who inscribed them I do not know." (The jeweller did so: such inscriptions on rings were common, at least in Scotland and England.) "My brother gave me the ring which you have; give it, I charge you, to the church. I never used any ring of mine to heal any mortal." As to promises from her Saints, she asked them to take her to Paradise, and they assented. "About another promise I will tell you in three months."

"Are you to be set free then?"

"This is no affair of yours. I know not when I shall be set free." She certainly had a presentiment that she would be free from bonds in three months, and she was, to the day, set free—through the gate of fire. She could not understand the promise thus, she did not always understand the sense of her Voices, but the coincidence is one of the many strange points in her experience which suggest that, in some way, she caught faint rumours and glimpses of things to be.

"What have you done with your mandrake?"—what a question! She knew a little of the folklore of mandrakes, nothing more. They jumped to St. Michael, and thence to the sign given to the King. On that subject she gradually, as is to be shown later, built up an allegory based on the actual sign, and on the coronation at Reims. The rest of the day was occupied with this matter.

Jeanne never truckled, never tried to conciliate, she stood up to these shavelings as she had stood up to the recreant clerks of Poitiers, with the scorn of a Queen who is tried by rebellious subjects, with the contempt of a sane mind for their "heavenly science." On the sixth day (March 3) they returned to their puerilities about her Saints, who promised liberty, and bade her boldly "bear a glad countenance,"—her natural expression of gaiety. To questions about her male dress she usually said, "I do not remember." They seem to have heard that her King desired her to discard it; she would not answer, so probably he had done so.

Her own company in arms, she said, consisted of but two or three lances,—those of d'Aulon and her brothers; at Orleans her military command was unofficial, those who loved her followed her, and adopted the white penoncels of her household, of white satin with the lilies. The attempt was to show that she had used the penoncels superstitiously, perhaps she had them sprinkled with holy water; she refused to say. She denied that she had caused any portraits of herself to be made, she had seen only one, in the hands of a Scottish archer at Arras. Doubtless there were many popular images, medals, and miniatures not done from the life. She knew nothing of Masses and prayers for her (which were duly made, in fact), but saw no harm in them. Her friends were not mistaken, she said, if they believed that she was sent from God. People could not always be prevented from kissing her hands and her raiment; "the poor flocked to me gladly, for I did them no displeasure, and helped them to the uttermost of my power." They asked about her alleged promise to find a lost pair of gloves at Reims. She denied that she had promised to discover them. She explained an affair of a hackney of the Bishop of Senlis. She had paid for it, and offered to return it, it was not up to her weight when she was in armour. She told the simple truth about the dying child at Lagny. She, with other girls, prayed for it; it was as black as her coat, but began to regain colour, gasped thrice, was baptized, and died.

"Did people say that you caused this resurrection?"

"I did not inquire." She told the story of Catherine of La Rochelle, and about the leap from the tower of Beaurevoir, as already given, and denied having sworn at the traitor of Soissons. Cauchon then decided to appoint a Committee to make a synopsis of her answers. Another Committee would re-examine her, and all the judges were to receive the report in writing.

On March 10, Cauchon, with only five assessors, visited Jeanne in her cell. Examined in prison she was remote from sympathy, and lost the breath of free air, and the little relief to her fettered limbs during the short walk to the court, and the sight of the open

church door. Jean de La Fontaine was her interrogator. He began with questions about her doings at Compiègne, her alleged false prophecies there. The events at Compiègne and Melun have already been narrated in their place. They returned to the King's secret; her replies are later examined in due sequence. (Appendix C.)

On March 13 the timid Vice Inquisitor appeared, bringing with him a Dominican, Isambart de la Pierre, who, at the trial of Rehabilitation, represented himself as very pitiful and sympathetic. In this, though he lacked the courage to vote for her acquittal, he seems to have spoken truth. De la Fontaine asked silly questions about the Voices and Saints, and about the Burgundian version of the story of the young man whom she was said to have cited for breach of promise of marriage. (See p. 63.) Had she not sinned when she went to France against the will of her father and mother?

"I had obeyed them in everything else, and I wrote to them, begging their pardon. As God bade me go, I would have gone if I had a hundred fathers and mothers, or was the daughter of a king." Her Voices left to her the choice of telling her parents before her departure.

She declared that she had spoken of her visions to no priest; a point against her. But her enthusiastic advocate, Father Ayroles, S.J., believed that here she did not tell truth, and had the full permission of her Church. "The inviolable secrecy imposed on the confessor extends also to the penitent. As he speaks to God in the person of his minister, the penitent may swear that he never spoke to any mortal concerning what he revealed under the seal of confession. This is the teaching of theology." So much the worse for theology! Jeanne is not likely to have known, or to have acted on, these instructions; to do so was an *acte de sagesse*, says Father Ayroles; but of such wisdom the Maid was incapable. A learned priest informs me that these subtleties had probably not been evolved in the time of the Maid.

On March 13 the Vicar of the Inquisitor interrogated her

about the King's secret, and the crown borne by the Angel. She went on with the allegory which their foolish questions had suggested. They asked her about her alleged discovery of a stolen cup and of the immorality of a priest. She said that she had never heard of these legends. Had she received letters from St. Michael? She would answer later. We do not know anything of this strange matter. The letters were not in Court.

They asked her if she had received revelations about the attacks on Paris and La Charité. She replied that she had none, nor about going to Pont l'Evêque. After her Voices, at Melun, announced her capture, she relied on the captains, to whom she did not mention her approaching fate. She evaded the question, "Was it right to attack Paris on the Nativity of the Virgin?"

On March 14, Isambart de la Pierre, the sympathetic Dominican, was present. They inquired about the leap from the tower of Beaurevoir. Would she refer to the evidence that, after her fall, she blasphemed God and her saints? She would only refer "to God and good confession." She knew of no such words; she could not know what she might say in delirium. She declared that St. Catherine promised succour, how or when she knew not; she might be set free, or there might be a tumult at her execution. "Generally the Voices say that I shall be delivered through great victory," and thereafter the Voices say, "*Take all things peacefully: heed not thine affliction* (*martire*). *Thence thou shalt come at last into the kingdom of Paradise.*"

The Voices never made a prophecy more true. She did not understand the monition. By an astonishing coincidence the Voices repeated the message of St. Michael to St. Catherine, when *she* lay in prison awaiting her trial by the Doctors of heathendom. In an old English *Life of St. Catherine*, written in 1430–1431, while the new St. Catherine was contending with the French Doctors, St. Michael says, "Drede not, thou mayden acceptable to God, but worke sadly and myghtyly, for our Lord ys wyth thee, for whose worschep thou hast entered into this batayle; he schal give into

thy mouth the stronge floode of hys plenteous word to the whyche thyn adversaries schal not wythstende . . . and thou wythynne short whyle after schalt end thy batayle with glorious deeth and be so receyved amonge the worthy company of Virgins." Jeanne could not believe that death was to be the end of her "batayle."

The words of Jeanne, from the lips of the Saints, were the most touching that ever maiden uttered. Their effect on her tormentors was what might have been expected. They seized the chance to ask her if she had assurance of salvation; a deadly error. She believed in her salvation "as firmly as if she were in heaven already."

"Do you believe that, *after this revelation*, you could not sin mortally?"

"I know not. I leave it to God."

"Your answer" (about her assurance of salvation) "is very weighty."

"I hold it for a very great treasure."

De la Fontaine, Le Maître, Midi, and Feuillet were the examiners who sought their own damnation on this day. Who are we that we should judge them, creatures as they were, full of terror, of superstition, and of hatred; with brows of brass and brains of lead; scientific, too, as the men of their time reckoned science. In the afternoon they returned to this point, making quite sure of it and then laboured the affair, already described (pp. 229, 230), of Franquet d'Arras.

"What with your attack on Paris on a holy day, your behaviour in the matter of the Bishop's hackney, your leap at Beaurevoir, and your consent to the death of Franquet, do you really believe that you have wrought no mortal sin?"

"I do not believe that I am in mortal sin; and, if I have been it is for God to know it, and for confession to God and the priest."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TRIAL

II

The Question of Submission to the Church

Jeanne was in mortal sin; the learned Doctors knew it. It is the foible of scientific men to think themselves omniscient; but with the true scientific spirit, Jeanne professed her own ignorance, leaving the question, in faith and hope, to God. *Her* intelligence was sane and clear.

On March 15 they began to ask her whether she would submit to the judgment of the Church her alleged sins in matters of faith. This meant, would she submit the question of the nature of her Voices—good spirits or evil—to the verdict of her personal and political enemies, the assembled Anglo-Burgundian clerks. If she said "Yes," they would pronounce the Voices to be devilish, and burn her if she did not abjure them. If she said "No," they would pronounce her "contumacious"—and burn her. Meanwhile the whole question, says the Chanoine Dunand, was "one of the *causes majeures* which, by canon law, are reserved for the judgment of the Pope." But these French clerks had already burned Pierronne, six months earlier, for adhering to *her* visions, without troubling His Holiness.

Jeanne asked that clerics might consider the matter; she would then lay their verdict before her Counsel. She would not defend any act against the Christian faith as instituted by our Lord.

The distinction between the Church militant on earth (which

cannot err) and the Church triumphant in heaven—to which, in the person of her Saints, she was appealing—was explained to her, and she understood it in a moment, though at first she did not understand, and said that she "ought to be allowed to go to church." "Simple" as she was, she fully appreciated the situation as soon as it was explained. But it was always clear that, being inspired directly by the Church triumphant, she never would submit willingly to the Church of the Malignants in Rouen. She declared that she had full right to escape, if she saw a chance. She was inclined to wear female dress if she might be allowed to hear Mass. "Let me have a long skirt without a train, and go to Mass. On returning I will wear man's dress." But she implored that, attired as she was, she might be allowed to hear Mass. They returned to the old questions about her Saints, how she knew them to be good; and they were answered in the old way.

On March 17 they persevered. Her acts she referred to God who sent her. Then, beginning to prophesy, she predicted that "the French will soon win a great matter" (not a *battle*, but *une grande besogne*, *unum magnum negotium*) "which God will send them; it will put almost the whole kingdom in motion. And this I say, that, when the event comes, my words may be held in memory." This is a prophecy of the reconciliation of France and Burgundy, in 1435, by the Treaty of Arras, the death-blow to the English rule and to the Duke of Bedford.

From this unpleasant prophecy they turned to her submission to the Church. "I refer myself to God, the Virgin, and all the Saints of Paradise. To me it seems that, as to our Lord and the Church, it is all one, and that no difficulty should be made; why do you make a difficulty?"

They again explained that the Church on earth, Pope and all, could not err, being governed by the Holy Spirit. She repeated what she had said, and deferred reply about the Church militant. "If I must be put to death, I ask for a woman's shift, and a cap to cover my head; for I would rather die than depart from the work to which my Lord has set me. But I do not believe that

my Lord will let me be brought so low that I shall lack help of God and miracle."

"If you dress as you do by God's command, why do you ask for a shift in the hour of death?"

"It suffices me that it should be long," she said, for reasons of modesty.

They turned to trifles, such as the five crosses on her sword, and, in the afternoon, interrogated her for the last time in the preparatory inquiry. They still vexed her with puerilities; they asked if she thought that her Voices would desert her if she married. She answered, "I know not, and leave it to my Lord."

"Did your King do well in slaying the Duke of Burgundy?"

"It was a great disaster to the kingdom of France; and whatever was between these two, God has sent succour to France."

"Would you answer plainly to the Pope?"

"I summon you" (*elle requiert*), "to take me to him, and I will answer all that it will be my duty to answer." Canonists regard this as an informal but valid appeal to the Pope; and to such an appeal she had a legal right.

Would she have deserted her Voices at the word of the Pope?

Would St. Paul have repudiated his vision on the Damascus road at the word of the Church of Jerusalem? Jeanne had seen and heard, and her hands had handled the bodies of her Saints. How could she in honesty and honour repudiate them and their righteous and holy messages? It was morally impossible that she should do so in honour and honesty, at the bidding of Estivet, Cauchon, and the rest, traitors to her King. The clergy of her party took this view in 1450–1456.

The preparatory inquiry was closed. For a week Estivet laboured at a digest, and on March 27 the ordinary trial began: the seventy Articles made by Estivet were read to the prisoner; two English priests were in the crowd of assessors, Brolbster and Hampton.

Cauchon now offered Jeanne counsel; she thanked him very

courteously, "but I do not intend to depart from the counsel of God." The Court had refused to oblige Estivet by condemning the Maid on the ground of her refusal to answer all questions. The seventy Articles must first be read: she might receive delays in which to consider her replies.

On March 28, Courcelles read the Articles aloud. The Court was asked to declare Jeanne to be "a sorceress, a divineress, a false prophet, one who invoked evil spirits, a witch, a heretic, an apostate, a seditious blasphemer, rejoicing in blood, indecent," and so forth. The Articles were carelessly drawn up. One passage, to the effect that Jeanne disobeyed her parents in the matter of the breach of promise of marriage case at Toul, has been the basis of romances by her biographers. As we have already shown, she said nothing about her parents in the affair of Toul; and the current story rests on a blunder of her accuser. Estivet also represented Jeanne as having bragged to Baudricourt that after fulfilling her mission she would have three sons, a Pope, a Kaiser, and a King. "I would gladly be the father of one of them," said the captain, "it would be good for my reputation."

"Gentle Robert, nay, nay; it is not the time, the Holy Spirit will open it."

"So Robert was wont to say, in presence of bishops and the great of the earth."

Jeanne replied that she referred to her previous answers (which do not on this point exist), and that, as to having three boys, she made no such boast. She may have said something with a symbolical meaning, but conjecture is useless. A grave charge was that she "entertained erroneous opinions about the freedom of the will." Another crime, which she denied, was the dropping of melted wax on the heads of children, by way of telling their fortunes! These silly things are not in the record of the questions previously put to her. Perhaps that record is garbled. The practice with wax corresponds to the dropping of molten lead into water, and divining the future from the casual forms. Nothing could be less in the manner of the Maid. Her greatest error was her refusal to

submit to the Church. "Men and women will arise everywhere, pretending to have divine and angelic revelations, and sowing lies and errors in imitation of this woman."

There is a good deal of force in this objection. But Jeanne had been accepted by the clergy of her party, and was acquitted by the Doctors of her own party on this point, as we shall see, and it seems certain that she had not fair play from Cauchon. In her reply to the first Article the Latin translation of the original French minute makes her say, "I well believe that our Holy Father, the Pope of Rome, and the bishops and other churchmen are for the guarding of the Christian *faith* and the punishment of heretics; but as for me and my *facts* (*de factis*), I will only submit to the Church of Heaven, to God, Our Lady, and the Saints in Paradise. I firmly believe that I have not erred in faith, nor would I err." Here the Latin record stops. But the French goes on, "nor would I err, *and I summon* . . ." (*et requiert* . . .).

To whom did she appeal, and why does the original French, written in Court, end thus abruptly, while the official Latin version omits the words, "and she summons. . . ."? These very words she had used in demanding to be led before the Pope, "elle requiert qu'elle soit menée devant luy."

The friendly Dominican, de la Pierre, was present among the assessors. Now he, on February 15, 1450, at Rouen, deposed that Jeanne, on one occasion, said that she would answer the Pope, if taken to him. De la Pierre then advised her to submit to the General Council at Basle. Jeanne asked him, "What is the General Council?" He replied, "It is the Congregation of the Universal Church and of Christendom, and therein are as many of your party as of the English." "Oh!" she cried, "since there are some of our side in that place, I am right willing to submit to the Council of Basle!" "Hold your tongue, in the devil's name!" cried Cauchon, and commanded the notary not to record this appeal. Jeanne said that they wrote what was against her, not what was in her favour.

Here then we have an explanation of the words in the French minute written in Court, *et requiert* . . . "and she summons . . .," and an explanation of the gap which follows. She appealed, her appeal was not recorded; and the whole trial wrecks itself in this infamous injustice. (On this point see M. Marius Sepet, *Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 209, 225. Observe, too, *Procès*, vol. i. p. 184, where a question as to the dress, height, and *age* of the Angel who brought the crown to the King is given in the French minute, but not in the official Latin translation.)

The certain way of escape was closed to Jeanne, so that she had no means of submitting to a fair ecclesiastical Court, while the Court which tried her had demonstrated its own incompetence. She replied to the Articles when she pleased; when she pleased, referred to her previous answers. With a firm belief in the Church on earth on matters of *faith*, in matters of *fact*, she would only be judged by the Church in heaven. She later maintained her original attitude. To Cauchon she said that she often had news of him from her Voices. "What news?" he asked.

"I will tell you apart."

She asked for a delay as to the question of submitting to the Church militant, and was interrogated on March 31. She then boldly answered that she would not abjure her Voices. "That was impossible." She would obey the Church, "God first being served."

Now to the ordinary reader Jeanne may seem to be maintaining, with courage, honour, and loyalty, a position untenable, given Catholic ideas of the immunity of the Church militant from error. To such a reader it seems that Jeanne should have merely refused the jurisdiction of the hostile Court which was assailing her for reasons of personal and political hatred and fear. She did appeal to the General Council at Basle. Her attitude, the prosecution said, meant anarchy. Any man or woman might preach any doctrines, or prophesy to such effect as he or she pleased, unchecked by the Church. It seems a fatal deadlock; for if Jeanne at this point could not, in honour and honesty, abjure, for any morta

what she *knew* to be true; then other people, with equally strong convictions, had equally good right to follow inspirations wholly unlike those of the Maid. So it may appear to the ordinary reader. But it has not so seemed to her Church, which has proclaimed her "Venerable"; and surely her Church ought to know! There is no higher Court of appeal in the Church's own affairs.

The learned Doctors of the French party, in the Trial of Rehabilitation, voted that, in her refusal to submit to the Church, the Maid was not a heretic. Thus Bouillé decided that, when Jeanne said, "Take me to the Pope," the judges should have ceased from their task. "It belongs to the Pope to decide if these sorts of visions come from good spirits or evil." "Persons to whom these communications are made can have certitude about them otherwise than by submission to the judgment of the visible Church."

Again, "Suppose the apparitions came from evil spirits, she was not to be reckoned heretical as long as she believed them to come from spirits of light." Again, "*in questions of fact*" (not of dogma), "in the case of a fact which only the percipient knows for certain, no mortal has the right to make him disavow what he knows beyond possibility of doubt. . . . To deny a fact which we know to be certain beyond doubt, though others do not know it, is to lie, and is forbidden by divine law; it is to go against our conscience." "If Jeanne received revelations from God, it was not reasonable to bid her abjure them, especially as the Church does not judge concerning hidden things. She had a perfect right to refuse to abjure . . . she followed the special law of inspiration, which exempted her from the common law. . . . Even if it be doubted whether her inspiration came from good or evil spirits, as this is a hidden thing, known of God only, the Church does not judge. She might be wrong; but she referred all to the judgment of God and to her own conscience. The Maid did not err if she referred all to the judgment of God only. Moreover, she explicitly appealed to the Pope" (that is, on the day of her abjuration). "Let a report of all that I have done and said be sent to our sovereign

Lord, the Pope, in Rome, to whom, after God, I appeal." "The Pope is too far," they replied.

The other clerks of her party argued like Bouillé: Cybole wrote that when Jeanne refused to submit to any mortal man, hers was a Catholic reply, in conformity with the teaching of St. Peter and the apostles, "we must obey God rather than man." Brehal, Grand Inquisitor of France, quoted, "If you are led by the Spirit, you are no longer under the law." "She had certain knowledge; on these points she had to obey no man. To abjure her revelations would have been to lie and perjure herself,"—so she and we and the Grand Inquisitor are all agreed. Brehal decided that her judges, not the Maid, were heretical.

These benevolent Doctors of 1450–1456 were anxious to prove that Jeanne was too simple and ignorant to understand the questions about the Churches militant and triumphant. But she understood them perfectly well; her genius was always adequate to every demand on it. She understood, and she took the very line later adopted by her learned clerical defenders. It was impossible for her, with honesty and honour, to abjure what she knew to be true. In the words of Montrose she might have said, "I am resolved to carry with me fidelity and honour to the grave." She "kept the bird in her bosom"; she was "released with great victory," the victory of fidelity and honour over the common run of learned clerks; over prison and iron bonds; over weakness, and hunger, and the threat of torture, and the sight of the tormentor, and his instruments of hell.

A list of XII Articles on which to base a verdict was now composed, apparently by Midi, and sent to various Doctors. The defenders in 1450–1456 found that these Articles were falsely extracted and unjustly composed, not in harmony with Jeanne's confessions, and not containing her explanations and qualifications. It was not possible for the accusers to be fair, in the opinion of Quicherat. *They did not make the attempt.* Here is the cream of the XII Articles.

I. The Saints were said to have been adored at the fountain

(where Jeanne said that she had *once* seen them), and the fountain was involved, by the makers of the Articles, in the ill fame of the Fairy tree.

In fact, the judges followed Catherine of La Rochelle's fable about "the counsel of the fountain."

"Among the soldiers, Jeanne seldom or never had a woman with her," as *chaperon.*

She had explained that she guarded herself by other precautions, of which no notice was taken, and their own experts had proclaimed Jeanne to be a maiden. The Duchess of Bedford, daughter of the murdered Duke of Burgundy, was the authority for that fact, *which was suppressed by the accusers.*

II. She varied in her reports of the circumstances about the giving of the sign to the King.

This matter is treated later; it was not possible for the dull accusers to understand her system of blended truth of fact and truth of symbol.

III. She would not renounce her belief that her Saints were good.

IV. She believed herself to be cognoscent of contingent events in the future, as that the French would do something distinguished (*pulchrius factum*) in her company. (Her letter to Bedford of March 22, 1429.) She had also found the sword of Fierbois.

Her important and successful prophecies were ignored.

V. She wore a male dress, and, when wearing it, received the sacrament.

Why she wore male dress we know.

VI. She used the motto JESUS MARIA, and said that the course of war would show which party was in the right.

It did!

She claimed to come from God.

VII. She went to Baudricourt and to Charles, proclaiming herself a divine emissary.

VIII. She leaped from the tower of Beaurevoir, disobeying her Saints, because (her own words are *not* given) she could not

survive the fall of Compiègne, and "preferred to trust her soul to God, than her body to the English." But she knows by revelation that her sin was forgiven after her confession.

She was to be condemned both for obeying and for disobeying her Saints.

IX. She believes herself as certain of heaven as if she were there already, and thinks that she cannot have committed mortal sins, for, if so, the Saints would not visit her.

Her many qualifications, her leaving the subject to God, are omitted.

X. She says that her Saints do not speak English, because they are not pro-Burgundian.

The stupidity of these men prevented them from seeing that the Voices might as well have spoken Hittite as English to Jeanne, who only knew French.

XI. She has adored her Saints without taking clerical advice. Yet her modern "scientific" critics aver that her Voices and visions were known to fraudulent priestly directors from the first. Moreover, she had the formal approval of such clerks as Gerson, and the Archbishop of Embrun, and the synod of Poitiers.

XII. She refuses to submit her conduct and revelations to the Church.

But she was not allowed to appeal to the Church assembled at Basle.

This is a summary of the Articles: from which a large number of charges, as originally made, are omitted. The puerile iniquity of the whole accusation is conspicuous. Quicherat admitted that; but argued, "given men so prejudiced as the assessors, the procedure of the Inquisition made it impossible for them not to go wrong." Chanoine Dunand replies that the procedure of the Inquisition did not impose the duty of drawing up such Articles, that was the favourite procedure of the University of Paris—which was *capable de tout.* To myself all the judicial procedure of the Courts, lay or clerical, in the trial of a person feared and hated, seems about equally unfair, then, and for centuries later.

On April 12 a number of Doctors gave their opinion on the Articles. Among them was Beaupère, who believed the visions and Voices to be natural hallucinations, and had the merit of adhering to his opinion twenty years later. There was also Migiet, who, in 1450–1456, posed as sympathetic; there was Maurice, who was edified by her last confession to him; there was the friendly Dominican, Isambart de la Pierre; there were the modest Thomas de Courcelles, and Loiselleur, the prison spy, and there was Le Maître. What a world! They decided that the visions and Voices were either "human inventions" or the work of devils; that Jeanne's evidence was a tissue of lies; that she was blasphemous towards God, and impious towards her parents, schismatic as regarded the Church, and so forth. Doctors at large corroborated this verdict. Such Doctors were then the representatives of "Science."

Modern readers are content to leave to the Church the rights and wrongs of Jeanne's relations to the Church and to faith. But charges of falsehood, as in her story of the sign given to the King, are another matter, and the discussion of these charges we relegate to the close of the book, so as not to interrupt the tragic narrative.

There is no basis for the Protestant idea that Jeanne was a premature believer in "Free Thought" and the liberty of private opinion. She was as sound a Catholic as man or woman could be, in matters of faith; she was only forced by injustice into maintaining her freedom of opinion in matters of fact, of personal experience; and clerks as learned as they of Rouen maintain that this attitude was perfectly orthodox.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ABJURATION

AMONG the scribes and Doctors of the English party who had been consulted, the Canons of Rouen were backward, and reluctant to condemn the Maid. On April 13, when they met, the majority of their body were absent. It was decided to summon them again on the following day; absentees were to be deprived of their rations for a week. This threat brought them to heel and they voted that the Articles should be explained to Jeanne in French, that she should be tenderly admonished to submit, and that the documents should be offered to the judgment of the University of Paris. But Jeanne was now dangerously ill; prison, bonds, the company of brutal soldiers, and the anxiety and weariness of her conflict with the priestly bullies and cajolers had broken down even her strength. Her spirit was unbroken.

On April 18, Cauchon went to her cell with some of his detested company, to try the effects of "a tender exhortation." Cauchon told her how kind and good they were, visiting her in her affliction. Perhaps as an ignorant and illiterate girl, she did not understand the depths of her errors. Here were gentle clerks who would instruct her out of their science. They only desired the health of her body (for which they had been so singularly careful) and of her soul. They would be patient; the bosom of the Church was ever open to the returning wanderer. Her languor, her apprehensions, are visible in her replies through the canine Latin of these learned men. She thanked them courteously for their solicitude about her health: she always rendered courtesy for courtesy. "I think I am in great danger of death, owing to my sickness; and if

God be pleased to work His will on me, I implore you that I may confess myself, and receive the Holy Sacrament, and be buried in holy ground." In no ground would they bury her body: but Cauchon's tomb and recumbent effigy were magnificent.

We can see Jeanne's white face, her large eyes, and hear the piteous accent of her sweet low voice that in battle rang like a clarion call. Once more only, in her final victory over self and fear was that voice to be raised as of old.

"If you would have the sacrament you must submit to Holy Church."

She answered wearily, "*Je ne vous en sçauroye maintenant autre chose dire!*"

"The more you fear for your life, the more you should consent to amend it and submit."

"If my body dies in prison I expect from you burial in holy ground; if you do not give it, I await upon my Lord."

They continued to trouble her, "Come what may, I will do or say no other thing; I have answered to everything in my trial." They then admonished her tenderly, and preached at her unctuously. If she would not submit she must "be treated as a Saracen."

"I am a good Christian, and am baptized, and as such I will die."

Five Doctors in turn exhorted her.

They offered her a fine procession; she said she was content that the Church and good Catholics should pray for her. Then they left her to the society of the men of John Gray and William Talbot, who might drink, dice, and jest beside the bed where her weak limbs lay in anguish. She could not die; "so strongly was the spirit thirled in the body."

Messengers were sent to the University of Paris with the XII Articles, a great festival for the learned professors. On May 2, Cauchon arranged a *public* admonition, in a chamber of the great hall of the Castle. With him were sixty of his shaven sort, including Courcelles and the kind Dominican, Isambart de la Pierre.

Cauchon made a speech. "Read your book," said the Maid with scorn, "and I will answer you. I appeal to God, my Creator, whom I love with all my heart."

"The book" was read, the old story, she was accused of great palpable lies about the Angel who brought the crown to her King, and of all her other sins. She answered that she referred to her former replies. "If I see the fire before me I will say what I say now, and no other thing."

"If the General Council and the Holy Father were here, would you submit to them?"

"You will get no more from me."

"Will you submit to the Pope?"

"Take me to the Pope and I will answer *him*."

She had appealed to the Pope.

She would not refer to the nobles of her party, who, she had said, saw the Angel and the Crown. She would only do so if she might first send a letter. She had to explain her allegory to them, of course; and in the same way she would not refer to the clergy at Poitiers, "Do you think to take me so?" she asked. In every question she saw a trap, and she had every reason to distrust the recreant clerks of her party. Threatened with fire, eternal and temporal, she said that if they burned her, ill would befall them, body and soul. Her courage was such that she did not veil her contempt for them—"Read your book!" She answered threat with threat, and, learning all this, the Canons of Rouen condemned her in a document of May 4. On May 9 she was brought into a chamber where lay their instruments of torture, the two tormentors standing by, ready to go to work; Erard, Loiselleur, and sympathetic Massieu were present. They showed her the instruments, racks and screws, and the executioners, then bade her amend her replies.

"Truly," she said, "if you tore me limb from limb, till my soul is forced from my body, I will say no other thing than I have said. And if I do, I will always declare that you dragged it from me by force." Such a declaration, made within a fortnight, would have invalidated confessions uttered under torture, at least by the

law of Protestant Scotland. This was also the rule of the Inquisition in Spain, and knowing victims would confess at the first touch of the rack, and then recant.

On the day before (May 3), Jeanne had been comforted by St Gabriel; her Voices said that he was St. Gabriel. She had asked her Voices if she ought to submit to the Church? They had answered that, "if she desired the aid of God, she must wait upon Him in all that she did." Now her conscience could not sanction her submission, though by this time she was nearly outworn. She had asked, "Shall I be burned?" and the Voices had replied, "You must wait upon our Lord, and He will be your aid."

She was asked if she would refer the story of the Crown and Angel to the Archbishop of Reims. "Bring him here, and let me hear him speak; he will not dare to deny what I have told you."

The judges then "seeing the manner of her replies, and her obdurate mind, and fearing that the agony of torture would not do her any good, postponed the torture, till they had further counsel."

There was a limit even to their hardness of heart. This one thing only, torture, was spared to the Maid. On May 12 they debated on the torture, judiciously leaving the Maid to expect it day by day. Their opinions were taken by Cauchon. Roussel thought that the use of torture might impair the stately beauty of the trial, as hitherto conducted. Erard thought that they had evidence enough, without torture. Morelli was in favour of torture, so was Thomas de Courcelles, so was Loiselleur, adding that torment would be good for the health of her soul. These three were outvoted, eleven votes were in favour of mercy.

Morelli, Loiselleur, de Courcelles, these are the names of blackest infamy.

She lay in irons for another week, and then came the jubilant replies of the Professors and Doctors and Masters of the University of Paris. The Maid's crimes had been "elegantly" related to them by Beaupère and Midi. The whole University agreed in opinion about the XII Articles. It was plain to scientific minds

that Jeanne's St. Michael, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret were, in fact, Belial, Satan, and Behemoth (a lubber fiend of old mythology. Two centuries later Behemoth wrote through the automatic hand of Sœur Jeanne des Anges, superior of the bewitched nuns of Loudun). Jeanne was a crafty traitor, cruel, and athirst for human blood; a cowardly suicide in intention; a pernicious liar, a schismatic and idolator, a heretic. Such was their science. Unlike Moses, she showed no sign, did not change a stick into a serpent. Unlike John the Baptist (who also showed no sign), she did not quote a text of the Bible in favour of her mission. She could not read, or she might have quoted plenty,—and that would have been another proof of her depravity.

Most of the learned, though proud of the opinion of the University, still thought that Jeanne should have one more tender admonition. Nothing could save her; even if she were acquitted, the English had announced their intention to take her back: the chances are that they would have drowned her.

On May 23, Pierre Maurice exhorted her, after the compliments of Paris University had been explained to her. The Maid replied to Maurice's sermon that her answer was her old answer. "If I saw the fire lit, if I were in the flames, I would say no other thing." The scribe wrote on the margin of his paper, *Johannæ responsio superba* ("Jeanne's haughty answer").

They had no more to ask; they left her to the cheerful badinage of the varlets of William Talbot and John Gray. Who knows what passed in the mind of the Maid when her English soldiers slept? Till now, and even on the following day for a while, she had interpreted the words of her Voices into promises of victorious deliverance. She knew not how, but surely all French hearts in Rouen would turn to her, and, even when she was going to the stake, would gather and sweep away the English guards. Or a trumpet, at the last moment, would ring out, and the gates of the town would be burned and broken, and she would hear the cries of *St. Denys* and *St. Andrew*, and the standards of Dunois and La Hire, of Kennedy and Chambers, of d'Alençon and Poton

de Saintrailles, de Rais, and Florent d'Illiers; and the penoncels, white, with golden lilies, would float above the levelled spears; and d'Aulon would press to the front in a charge of the chivalry of France. She would be released with great victory: her Saints had promised, and they had never failed her.

But now, had knights and Saints alike played her false? Outworn as she was, did she remember that she was a daughter of the Church: that these priests said that they spoke for the Church; the University of Paris spoke for the Church; could they all be in the wrong?

Pierre Maurice, at that last exhortation, had really spoken kindly and in simple words; it is quite possible that he had meant to be kind. He had approached her on the military side, and in the name of honour. "What would you think of a knight in your King's land who refused to obey your King and his officers? Yet you, a daughter of the Church, disobey the officers of Christ, the bishops of the Church. Be not ashamed of obedience, have no false shame, you will have high honour, which you think that you will lose, if you act as I ask you to do. *The honour of God*" (words of certain appeal to her), "and your own life in this world, and your salvation in the next, are to be preferred before all things."

Honour was of all things dearest to the Maid; she was giving her life for the honour of her King; was she impairing the honour of God? She had seemed unmoved when Maurice spoke these words and others such as these, which were far more likely to affect her than bullying and reviling discourses. Perhaps she pondered his exhortation, and her own weakness and want of human and religious comfort, in the night before she was to be led to the market-place of St. Ouen, to the crowd, and the stake, the clergy, the nobles, the men-at-arms, the preachers, the people, waiting to see her abjure her Saints or burn. It was usual to preach at the convicted witch before burning her; John Knox did so at St. Andrews.

Beaupère gave evidence that, before Jeanne was placed in the tumbril which drew her to the place of doom, he went alone

into her cell, and advised her to submit. "She said that she would do so." This is improbable, but Beaupère so understood her reply.

She was taken to the square, where was a great scaffolding crowded with prelates and nobles, and another scaffold for the preacher, Erard, and for Jeanne and the priests. Erard was the revered friend of Machet, the confessor of her King. Erard denounced her King, and she answered, as has been said, that "her King was the noblest of all Christians": he, the caitiff whom she had crowned, and who had abandoned her.

Jeanne replied to the preacher's words boldly, as in that hour her Voices bade her do, "I have told your Doctors that all my deeds and words should be sent to Rome to our Holy Father, the Pope, to whom, and to God first, I appeal. . . . As for my deeds, I burden no man with them, neither my King nor any other. If any fault there be, it is my own and no other's."

There never was such loyalty, never a word escaped her which could be turned to the reproach of those who had employed her and deserted her. They told her that the Pope was too far away, and that the Ordinaries were the judges. But Cauchon was in no sense her Ordinary.

Then, to follow the official account, given in the *Procès*, she was thrice admonished; and next the reading of her sentence was begun, "when she said that she would hold all that the judges and the Church decreed, and would be obedient and at their will. She would not uphold her visions and revelations, since the churchmen said that they were not to be upheld and believed. Next she made her abjuration, according to the form of the document then read to her in French words, which she also pronounced, and she signed the paper with her own hand, in this form," namely *Jehanne*, followed by a cross. This is the official record. There follows the Abjuration, a document of some five hundred words in some forty-six lines of small close print.

In this formula she is made to express penitence for mendaciously forging the revelations of her Saints, for making superstitious

divinations, for blaspheming God and the Saints, for indecently wearing man's dress, contrary to the honour of her sex, for despising God and His sacraments, for adoring and invoking evil spirits, for being seditious. She makes a long apology, and an oath of obedience to St. Peter, the Pope—and Cauchon; and she swears that she will never return to her errors.

Did Jeanne, consciously and wittingly, repeat this tremendous catalogue of crimes whereof she was innocent? Did she sign it, her hand being led at the pen by one of the clerks, as it was led when her signature was added to letters dictated by her in her victorious days? Did she swear to the contents of the document with her hand on the Gospels, a part of the ceremony of abjuration? No witness deposes to the last fact.

In truth we shall never know exactly what occurred. The official record of the abjuration proceeds smoothly; but, in fact, there was interruption, confusion, tumult, and hence the evidence taken in 1450–1456 is perplexing, though there is the substantial agreement of five witnesses to the effect that Jeanne signed *a very brief document.* Certainly Jeanne interrupted by some words the reading of the sentence. A witness says that "she cried with a loud voice that she submitted to the judgment of the Church, and that *she prayed St. Michael* to advise and counsel her."

According to the evidence given abundantly in 1450–1456, there was a break in the proceedings after her interruption; there was a show of popular irritation lest she should escape; and angry words passed on the platform of the English nobles and French clerks. According to Massieu, the interruption of the reading of the sentence gave rise to a great tumult among the bystanders, and many stones were thrown, *by* whom he did not know; *at* whom he does not say. According to Marguerie and others, the tumult was not confined to the populace or soldiers. On the platform of the nobles and prelates a chaplain of Cardinal Beaufort told Cauchon that he favoured Jeanne. "You lie," said Cauchon, with apostolic mildness. Beaufort bade his chaplain be silent. Lemaire, who was present, reported

hearsay evidence to the effect that several of the nobles were ill-content, and that Maurice, Loiselleur, and others were in danger of their lives. Maurice feared that he might be beaten. Later some bystanders said that the abjuration was a mockery. Fave "had heard it said" that certain Englishmen drew their swords on the bishop and the clerics; but that was *after* the abjuration, when the assembly had broken up.

On the whole, the evidence proves that, when Jeanne interrupted the reading of the sentence, there was a kind of riot, and the stones thrown, whoever threw them, were probably aimed at Maurice, Erard, possibly Massieu, perhaps at Loiselleur, who were trying to persuade her to sign a form of abjuration, which was just what the English did not want her to do. Her instant death was their desire. It is impossible to ascertain, from the evidence given in 1450–1456, what this form of abjuration really was. Massieu, who actually held in his hand and read to Jeanne the document, says that "at the end of the sermon" Erard read to Jeanne the list of the sins which she must abjure. Jeanne said that she did not understand, and Erard bade Massieu advise her. He told her that she would be burned if she refused to accept the Articles, and advised her to appeal to the Universal Church as to whether she should obey or not. She did appeal, loudly, but Erard said, "You must abjure at once, or be burned." Before she left the place she abjured, and made a cross on the paper of Articles. The paper which she signed contained about eight lines and no more. It was not the abjuration given in the official record; Massieu read the paper and knows perfectly that it was not the official formula. Courcelles, who remembered little, recollected that Venderès made a copy of the Articles, beginning like that given in the official record, but he knew no more. De Desert said that Jeanne smiled while she pronounced some of the words;—there was other evidence to this effect; and her mirth irritated an English doctor, who quarrelled with Cauchon, and was answered, "You lie!"

De la Chambre deponed that Erard promised release from prison, whereon she pronounced after him the words contained in six or seven lines on a piece of folded paper. The witness stood near at hand, and could see the lines. Now the abjuration in the official record fills forty-six lines of small close print. Migiet said that the words which Jeanne repeated were of about the length of Our Lord's Prayer, whereas there are about five hundred words in the official version. Manchon said that Loiselleur promised her much good, and that she would be placed in ecclesiastical hands, if she would wear female dress; and that she smiled as she said the words prescribed. Taquel was hard by when Massieu read the document to the Maid; it was in large letters, and occupied about six lines.

From the harmony of these testimonies, given on oath, mainly by priests, in an age when men feared to be damned eternally if they perjured themselves, it seems a fair inference that Jeanne did not repeat the long count of crimes and promises of amendment which the official document reports. We have the choice of two alternatives; the five witnesses told the truth; and Cauchon, with the makers of the official report, greatly expanded and affixed Jeanne's signature to the little document really read to her; or she repeated and signed the prolix document, and the five witnesses harmoniously perjured themselves. That they perjured themselves harmoniously seems more improbable than the other alternative. The question is regarded as important, for, it is argued, if Jeanne pronounced the words of the long form of abjuration, she perjured herself, and cannot be regarded as a person of "heroic" and saintly virtue. Considering her circumstances, her long sufferings, the mental confusion caused by the tumult; the promises of escape from the infamous company of base English grooms; and the terror of the fire, I cannot regard her,—even if she recited and set her mark to the long abjuration,—as less "heroic" than St. Peter was when he thrice denied his Lord. It is cruel, it is inhuman, to blame the girl for not soaring above the apostolic heroism of the fiery Galilean; for

being, at one brief moment, less noble than herself. But, as a matter of fact, it is as nearly as possible certain that, though she repeated some form of words, and signed something, she neither repeated nor signed the long and drastic document given in the official record. It is clear that the assessors of Cauchon did not believe that she thus abjured. This is plain, for, on May 29, at a final meeting of the assessors, Venderès gave the first vote: she should be condemned as a heretic and handed over to secular justice. But thirty-nine of forty-two assessors followed the Abbé de Fécamp, who said that she was relapsed. "Yet it is well that the document lately read,"—that is the long official schedule of abjuration, just read to the assessors,—"*be again read, before her, and be explained to her*, the word of God being expounded to her. When these things have been done, we judges have to declare her heretic, and leave her to secular justice. . . ."

All this means that the vast majority of the assessors, for the sake of their own consciences, wished to be assured that she had verily set her hand to the long confession of crimes in the official form of abjuration.

Migiet, Prior of Longueville-Giffard, said, at the Trial of Rehabilitation, as we have seen, that Jeanne signed a paper no longer than the Lord's Prayer. On May 29 he expressed himself thus: "*if*, in her sober senses" (*passione remota*), "she confessed the things contained in the official document, I agree with the vote of the Abbé of Fécamp."

Migiet knew that she had not confessed the things in the official document but the things contained in a very brief form of words, no longer than a *pater noster*. But Cauchon ignored the thirty-nine votes; the long formula was never read to Jeanne, who, of course, would have protested that she never saw it before. Thus Courcelles was able to swear that in the trial of Jeanne he "had never condemned Jeanne unconditionally." Thirty-nine out of forty-two assessors never did condemn her unconditionally. Only two assessors did unconditionally condemn her, but Cauchon

and the Vice-Inquisitor, the only actual *judges*, did so condemn her.

But Jeanne herself, unless we totally reject another part of the official record, recognised and averred that whatever she spoke and signed was sinful on her part.

Historians who accept the fact that the Maid compromised her honour, on the strength of the Maid's own words, presently to be quoted, are accused (by Canon Dunand, for example) of accepting "the English legend" and denouncing the Maid as "a perjured apostate."

The "legend" is not English, of course, but French; the records which contain the "legend" were made in France, by Frenchmen. All that the English then cared for was the instant burning of Jeanne as a sorceress; the details, the examinations, the science and learning, the records, they left to their willing and eager French subjects. Learning, history, exact records, were then less than nothing to the English. They wished to be freed from the girl who had baffled and beaten them, who had demoralised their men and sapped their empire. Cauchon managed the business zealously; he made the history, or made the legend. The English desire was, not that Jeanne should abjure, but that she should, to save time, refuse to abjure, and be burned at once. They did not want "the English legend" of her abjuration, they clamoured for her instant death. Legend or history, the whole narrative is entirely French. The affair once over, the English did not care a straw for history. They had no contemporary writer of chronicles. Their "legend" in later times was derived from Polydore Virgil and French historians.

Meanwhile we quote the Maid's own verdict on herself, given on May 28, 1429. "God told me, through St. Catherine and St. Margaret, of the great pity of that treason (*trayson*) to which I consented, when I made that abjuration and revocation to save my life, and that I was damning" (or condemning) "myself to save my life. . . . If I were to say that God did not send me I would condemn myself, for true it is that God sent me. My

Voices have told me, since, that I greatly sinned in that deed, in confessing that I had done ill. What I said, I said in fear of fire." She then revoked what she had said in fear of fire, as she had promised to revoke whatever she might say under torture. She even now maintained the truth of her parable of the Crown and Angel. She never betrayed the King's secret.

Unless any one chooses to maintain that this is a forged or falsified record, in which case there is no use in criticism, the Maid declares herself to have abjured her mission, and been guilty of *trayson* to save her life. Her repentance was speedy and complete. She was the very soul of honour, and I, for one, will not dishonour her by contradicting her words—granting that they are her words. She said, indeed, that at St. Ouen "she had not denied, or had not intended to deny, her apparitions, namely that they were St. Catherine and St. Margaret."

This appears to mean no more than that she did not remember having any clear sense that her words explicitly denied the identity of her Saints. "I was not intending to revoke anything unless it was because it so pleased our Lord." These words read like statements of dim recollections of a troubled mind. M. Quicherat points out that, "as if to leave no doubt of lucidity of her consciousness at the moment of her abjuration, she added that her Voices had warned her beforehand of the sin into which she would fall."

Her recorded words on May 28 are, "Dit que, avant de jeudi, ses Voix lui avoient dit ce qu'elle feroit, et qu'elle fist ce jour." "She says that, before May 24, her Voices had told her what she would do (or should do?) on that day, and what on that day she did." But the confession proceeds, "She says further that her Voices told her on the scaffold to answer that preacher boldly; and she called him a false preacher, and he had said several things which she had not done." She *had* answered him boldly when he insulted her King, she *had* obeyed her Voices Did her words on May 28 mean that her Voices, like the voice of our Lord to St. Peter, had rophesied her abjuration? If so,

what becomes of the Freedom of the Will, concerning which the Maid was accused of holding erroneous doctrines?

We shall never know the meaning of the strange smile which played on her lips as she spoke whatever words of abjuration she did speak. Several witnesses noticed it: one says that she made her mark as a round cipher, O, in sign of mockery, on a paper handed to her by Laurence Calot, secretary of Henry VI; and that he took her hand with the pen in it, and made her trace some other sign. But this is the witness, de Macy, who spoke of Erard by the name of Midi, and his evidence is untrustworthy. Whatever Jeanne really said, whatever she really signed, in that awful moment, she later condemned her own acts, repented, and on earth as in heaven, must have deserved nothing worse than love and pity and forgiveness.

"My Saints, my Saints, why have ye forsaken me!" she may have cried in her heart; and for that moment she denied, if not her Saints, at least her mission. For that moment she was untrue to herself, she a lonely girl of nineteen, who through a year of imprisonment, and eight months of intolerable bondage, outrage, persecution, had never wavered. The miracle is that *she* wavered; but she was very young, all uncomforted, without a friend, oppressed, and broken, and confused by threats and clamour and cajolements. The first of the Apostles thrice denied his Lord, and that with no stake and fire before his eyes, as one of the Doctors said in the Trial of Rehabilitation. It was only her Master that, after a life divinely supported, could say, *Eloi! Eloi! lama sabachthani?* and yet, though "forsaken," could go on to drink of that cup, obedient to that Will of His Father.

Martyrs there have been many, but few have had to face the trial of the Maid, to feel herself deserted by the visible Powers who had been her friends so long, and who, as she believed, had promised her release with great victory. This trial was her Gethsemane.

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAST MORNING IN PRISON

THE abjuration having been made, whatever the form of abjuration may have been, Cauchon read the sentence on the sinner. Jeanne was once more told that she had erred in the forgery of lying revelations, in playing the diviner, in blaspheming God and His Saints, and the rest of the document. But now that she had abjured, she was released from excommunication. To work out her penitence the Church assigned to her lifelong prison, "bread of sadness, water of affliction." With less than the humility to be expected of a penitent, the Maid treated Loiselleur, the spy, who said, "You have done a good day's work, please God, and saved your soul." Not answering him, she cried, "Here some of you church folk! Take me to your prisons, and out of the hands of the English!"

Not even at that hour could she repress her "calm unwavering deep disdain" of the learned Doctors. But she did not even yet know them. "Take her back whence you brought her," said Cauchon.

The ecclesiastical hermitage in which she should cleanse her sins by penitence was to be the old loathsome cell, where, in irons, and in the company of the merry men of John Gray and William Talbot, she might devote herself to the contrite life. By the rule of the Inquisition, women prisoners were to be kept apart from men, and watched by women. With equal cruelty, hypocrisy, and perfidy, Cauchon broke the rules of the Inquisition, and replaced the Maid in the den of unspeakable moral torment. He had never meant to do anything else. England had from the

first stipulated that she must recover her victim, *if acquitted.* Thus, from first to last, the trial was one organised hypocrisy on the part of the French judges. Cauchon threw over the rules of his Church, and made Jeanne a present to her political enemies. Quicherat attempts to palliate the supreme iniquity: here his desire to be impartial has led him into a strange partiality.

If anything especially moved Jeanne to whatsoever abjuration she made, after the prospect of instant fiery torment and death, it was the enforced society, by day and night, of the men of merry England. This I take to have been the most cruel part of her long martyrdom, and now she must consort with them without the protection of her accustomed attire. The story ran that Warwick was not yet content, and bullied the French clerics. One of them said, "Do not disturb yourself, my Lord, we shall soon have her again." The men-at-arms mocked at the Maid unreproved.

In the afternoon, Courcelles, Loiselleur, Midi, and de la Pierre, with others, went to the cell, and spoke to Jeanne of the great pity and mercy of the churchmen. She was told that she must wear woman's dress; and this was brought to her. She put it on, and allowed her military crop of hair to be adjusted in feminine fashion.

The Duchess of Bedford, when she and Anna Bavon declared Jeanne to be a maiden, gave orders that Gray, Talbot, and the rest should not offer her violence. It was the Duchess who now sent to her Jean Simon, a tailor, with the dress. In putting it on, he took her by the breast, to her great anger; she struck the wretch.

We do not know, happily we never shall know, all that passed in that cell between May 24, the day of the abjuration, and May 27, Trinity Sunday. We do know that at night she lay, her legs in irons, with couples fastened to a chain, and attached by a lock to a great beam of wood. There she lay from May 24 to May 27. On that day came tidings to the scribes and Doctors that Jeanne had relapsed, and was again wearing man's costume.

The shavelings trooped to the castle in their robes; but, as they stood in the court, a hundred of England's merry men assailed them with injurious and libellous observations. They learned that they were "traitor Armagnacs and false counsellors," and they were glad to escape from the courtyard. Manchon was there, and was so alarmed that, when summoned to the castle on Monday, he would not go till a retainer of Warwick acted as his protector. A clerk named Marguerie asked why Jeanne returned to man's dress? whereon an English soldier threatened the priest with his spear, and caused him grievous terror.

It was necessary, however, to admit Cauchon and his acolytes on Monday. They found Jeanne in her old attire, and asked her why she had relapsed. According to the official report, she replied that she preferred her old costume, and she did not understand that she had sworn never to wear it again. "It was more convenient to wear men's dress among men, and the promise that she should receive the sacrament and be released from the irons had been broken."

"I would rather die than remain in irons. If you will release me, and let me go to Mass and lie in gentle prison, I will be good, and do what the Church desires."

"*I will be good!*" she returned to the innocence of a child submitting to a mother, and spoke as a child.

This is the official version.

De la Pierre testifies that she publicly averred that "the English did her wrong and violence while she wore woman's dress"; and her face, "wet with tears, disfigured and outraged," moved the compassion of the Dominican. Ladvenu added a tale too horrible for quotation concerning an English lord, and swore that the Maid told it openly.

Manchon does not go so far; he says that Jeanne merely complained that "her guards wished to make attempts" upon her person, as the reason why she changed her dress.

She resisted till noonday, and then, being constrained to rise, did as she must. They would not return her woman's dress,

despite her entreaties. Massieu swore that Jeanne told him this on May 29, in answer to his questions, after dinner, when Warwick and Estivet had left him alone with her. This appears the most probable version: in any case the English had deliberately left the forbidden dress in her way.

The official record says that she told her gaolers, apparently, that her Voices had come to her and counselled her. At what moment this occurred we do not know. The details of her "relapse" we can never know, and gladly avert our eyes from the cruelty wrought in that dark place of the earth. There is, we shall see, good evidence against the loathsome story told by Ladvenu.

It was enough for them that by means in any case infamous they had recaptured her, "relapsed." On May 29, Cauchon gathered his bandits, the "Reverend Fathers in Christ,"—the cruel and the cowardly,—Courcelles and Loiselleur, Ladvenu and Isambart de la Pierre, all the sort of them, in the chapel of his house, the palace of the Archbishop of Rouen. They all agreed, de la Pierre and all, that Jeanne must be handed over to the secular arm, that is, after the confession of her sins had been read to her. This condition, we have seen, was never fulfilled. The best of them were dastards; but a poor monk, with death as the alternative, must obey the will of his superiors. We, who are not monks, and have not been tempted as they were, may censure them at pleasure.

The Maid was cited to appear at the Old Market, on May 30. The Church must hand her over to secular justice, begging that it might not injure her in life or limb! If she showed signs of sincere penitence, she was to be allowed to receive the sacrament of confession so long denied to her.

With the pronouncement of the sentence, the official record, signed by Boisguillaume, Manchon, and Taquel, closes. But there is a document about her last confessions, done after her death, on June 7, not thus attested, yet given by Cauchon as official, and as part of the record of the trial. Manchon was not present

at the alleged interview of certain priests with Jeanne, in prison, on the morning of May 30, the day of the martyrdom. He therefore hardened his heart; and though Cauchon tried to force him to sign the document done on June 7, he refused. No notary signed this ambiguous record.

Cauchon was anxious to prove that Jeanne again abjured. One form of his proof is that she, in fact, received the sacrament, and the inference is that she satisfied these men. The document is informal; but it is part of the history, or, if any one pleases, the legend of Cauchon. It was accepted as evidence by de Leliis, one of the judges who rehabilitated the Maid. He held it as proof that Jeanne, "after taking the sacrament, persisted, and till her death continued to aver, that she really had the visions and Voices." It was impossible that in this she could have lied. But as to whether the spirits were good or bad, says de Leliis, she left it to the judgment of the churchmen.

Remembering, then, the nature of the record of June 7, unsigned by Manchon or any notary, and remembering that the witnesses were Cauchon's cowering creatures, we follow their stories. The odious Loiselleur and Maurice, Professor of Theology, went alone, early in the morning, into the cell. They asked the Maid to tell them the truth about the Angel and Crown. Loiselleur heard Jeanne say that *she* was the angel, and announced the crown to her King. All this is plain from her own allegorical narrative as told to her judges. The Angel, she then said, entered by the door, and bowed down before the King. Angels do not thus salute mortal princes! (See Appendix C, on The King's Secret.) There was no other angel in the room: the crown was the promise of the coronation. As to the visions of multitudes of angels, Jeanne said that they actually appeared to her, "be they good or bad spirits, they really appeared to me." Maurice added that "she had heard the Voices, most frequently at the hour of Complines, when the bells ring, and also in the morning, when the bells ring." (It is not said that she had her visions of

Saints chiefly at these hours; and, as we know, she heard the Voices even during the scene at St. Ouen.) The hosts of angels "appeared to her in the aspect of minute things." Maurice told her "that the spirits were clearly bad, as they had promised her release, and she had been deceived." Jeanne answered that "it was true that she had been deceived." Loiselleur added that Jeanne, while conscious that she had been deceived, referred the question, "were the spirits good or evil?" to the clerks; but she would no longer put her faith in them. This is vague, and is not attested by Maurice. Perhaps, if she spoke thus, while not denying that the spirits were good, she merely meant that she no longer hoped for release.

Ladvenu, with the news of her approaching death by fire, and Toutmouillé, another Dominican, now entered the cell. Toutmouillé, on June 7, 1431, corroborated the evidence already given, but, in 1450, said nothing of it. He then dilated on the horror with which Jeanne received the news of her death by fire. "She cried piteously, tore her hair, and exclaimed, 'Alas, will they treat me so horribly and cruelly, and *burn my body that never was corrupted*, and consume it to ashes this day! Ah, ah, rather would I be seven times beheaded than thus burned! Ah, had I been in a prison of the Church, to which I submitted, and been guarded by churchfolk, and not by my enemies and adversaries, this would never have befallen me! Oh, I appeal before God, the great Judge, against these wrongs that they do me!' And here she complained of the oppressions and violences done her by her gaolers and others admitted to see her. She turned to Cauchon, who had entered, and spoke out boldly, "Bishop, through you I die . . . wherefore I appeal you before God."

If this terrible evidence be true, at least Jeanne could still talk of her uncorrupted virginal body. Toutmouillé attested that (in 1431) when he said that she now saw how her Voices had deceived her in promising her deliverance, she answered, "Truly, I well see that they have deceived me." It was before Cauchon entered, says Toutmouillé, that, asked if her spirits were not evil,

she answered, "I know not. I trust myself therein to my Mother, the Church," or "to you, who are churchmen." But Camus, who entered with Cauchon, obviously exaggerates, going far beyond Toutmouillé, who, we see, did his best to give his recollection of her very words. Camus says that Jeanne persisted that she had seen the appearances and heard the Voices; but, "since she had not been released, she believed that they were not good Voices or things." As Mr. Lowell writes, "The anxiety of Le Camus to please Cauchon evidently led him into exaggeration, if not into downright falsehood." Le Camus also makes Jeanne say to Ladvenu, when he ministered to her the sacrament, that Christ alone could liberate her; and being asked if she still believed in her Voices, "I believe in God only, and wish no more to believe in the Voices, since they have so deceived me." Ladvenu himself, on June 7, told much the same story; but does not say that she so spoke when receiving the sacrament. He makes her opinion that the spirits were evil dependent on the belief of the churchmen around her. *They* say so. Manifestly unless she had conciliated them in terms like these, they would not have let her receive the sacrament. But, if Ladvenu's later evidence is to be credited, at the stake she returned to her faith in her Saints, and proclaimed it loudly.

Thomas Courcelles, on June 7, gave very brief and cautious evidence. He says that Cauchon asked Jeanne if her Voices had not promised her deliverance. She said "'Yes,' and added, as it seems to me, 'I see well that I have been deceived.'" Then, says Courcelles, the bishop told Jeanne that she must perceive that the Voices were evil, and came not from God. But there Courcelles stopped; he did not add that the Maid acquiesced. This caution of Courcelles is notable; he was in no way dependent on Cauchon, and his evidence is much the least favourable to that prelate. Loiselleur says that she left the goodness or badness of the Voices and visions "to the clerks"; she asserted their reality, but would no longer trust them. Loiselleur told her that she ought to make this confession publicly, at the stake, and ask pardon of the

people for deceiving them. Jeanne replied that she would do so, and asked her confessor to remind her of it. No witness attests her confession, and prayer for forgiveness of her deceit, at the stake.

Quicherat writes, probably with justice, that the document of June 7 is not a mere forgery through and through. Courcelles, who edited the *Procès*, is cited, and he would not have allowed his deposition to stand, if he did not make it. "In face of death, the poor girl maintained, more firmly than ever, the actuality of the appearances; but, subdued before her judges by the hope of obtaining from them the sacrament, beset by their arguments, and unable herself to reconcile the hope of deliverance that the Voices had given with the inevitable death before her, she admitted, for a moment, that her sublime instinct might have deceived her." Jeanne, of course, said and thought nothing about "her sublime instinct"!

I confess that, in my opinion, she had misunderstood the words of the Voices, "Bear thy affliction lightly, thence shalt thou come into the Kingdom of Paradise." Her normal self was not always on the level of her mysterious monitions. For a moment that normal self, not understanding, and cruelly disappointed in that she was not released, wavered, to what exact extent the evidence of Courcelles leaves doubtful. He could not say that Jeanne had confessed the Voices to be evil; and the nobility of her nature shines forth when, in her moment of shaken faith, she puts her whole confidence in the divine Master of whom she was the loyal servant.

Meanwhile it is impossible, as Quicherat observes, to understand why—as the document of June 7 professes to contain the last formal interrogatory, that of May 30—a record so essentially important to the prosecutors was not made at once, and inserted, in the *Procès*, on the day of the event. Why was a notary, Manchon, summoned to attest the facts by his signature, when he had not been present?

The document is not fit to go to a jury, and the whole conduct of this affair is suspicious; to Quicherat it offered "an insoluble

problem." Yet the document, the weakest point in the case of the prosecution, was not the subject of questions at the Rehabilitation of 1450–1456. About the scene of the morning of May 30 no questions were asked, though de Leliis accepted the record. Perhaps its informality, for Manchon had explained why he refused to sign an examination "conducted by certain men as private persons, was thought reason sufficient for neglecting it. The document is not likely to be allowed to stand between the Maid and canonisation, if on other grounds the Saints are to be honoured by the insertion of her pure and glorious name in their roll-call.

CHAPTER XXVI

MARTYRDOM

JEANNE was granted, by the tender mercies of Cauchon, her last desire, she was allowed to receive the sacrament. Ladvenu heard her confession, and sent Massieu to the bishop to ask that the penitent might receive the Body of her Lord. Cauchon gathered some of his advisers, and gave permission; the fact would be another proof that Jeanne had submitted. The sacrament was brought irreverently, without light and stole, on the paten of the chalice, wrapped in the linen cloth about the chalice itself. Then, Ladvenu remonstrating, lights were brought, and praying clerks, and after a second confession, Jeanne received very devoutly, and with many tears.

Then she was clad in woman's attire, and was led by Massieu and Ladvenu to the stake. Already she had received a visit from Maurice, to whom she said, "Master Pierre, where shall I be this evening?"

He answered, "Have you not good faith in the Lord?"

"I have, and by God's grace I shall be in Paradise." Even so the Voices had told her that it was to be, she was to come straight from earth to the place of blessed souls.

As she was being taken to the burning she made such pious lament that her two companions could not forbear, but wept; and all who heard her shed tears. It is a strange story that Loiselleur was pricked in his conscience; and climbed into the cart where Jeanne was, desiring to ask her forgiveness. The English were wroth, and would have slain him, but for Warwick who protected him; for he wept bitterly as he passed along the street.

He certainly did not leave Rouen to save his life, or not for long.

Jeanne was taken to the Old Market, beside the Church of St. Saviour. There were three scaffolds; on one the Maid was exhibited, and preached at, as she had been preached at before; on another the lay and clerical magnates, as before, were assembled; on the third was an elevated mass of plaster, above it were the faggots and the stake. A placard was exhibited here, with the words, "Jeanne, self-styled the Maid, liar, mischief-maker, abuser of the people, diviner, superstitious, blasphemer of God, presumptuous, false to the faith of Christ, boaster, idolator, cruel, dissolute, an invoker of devils, apostate, schismatic, heretic." There were sixteen terms of reproach, and every one of them was the blackest of lies. A kind of paper mitre, as was customary, was set on her head, with the inscription,

"HERETIC, RELAPSED, APOSTATE, IDOLATOR."

Midi preached the sermon, abusing a text of St. Paul.

She listened patiently, her warfare was over, and it is of record that her judges wept; they had no pity, but they had sentiment.

Cauchon read the sentence.

"Then she invoked the blessed Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary, and all the blessed Saints of Paradise, naming some of them expressly," her own Saints, we may suppose. "She begged right humbly also the forgiveness of all sorts and conditions of men, both of her own party and of her enemies; asking for their prayers, forgiving them the evil that they had done her." She prayed all of the priests present, and they must have abounded at a burning, to give her each one Mass. It was dinner-time. While Cardinal Beaufort and some of the English nobles are said to have wept, others shouted that she must be handed over to them, to burn: "Priests, do you want to make us dine here?" they cried.

Without any formal secular sentence, the Bailiff of Rouen waved his hand, saying, "Away with her."

She was led to the central scaffold. She climbed it as bravely as she had climbed the scaling-ladders at Orleans and Jargeau. She asked for a cross to gaze upon in her agonies. An Englishman made a little cross of two pieces of a staff, and gave it to her. Devoutly she received it and kissed it, crying aloud on the Crucified: then she placed it in her bosom. She next prayed Massieu to bring the cross from the church, that she might look on it through the smoke. She long embraced it, and held it while she was being chained to the stake. She was heard saying "Ah Rouen, I fear greatly that thou may'st have to suffer for my death!"

"To the end she maintained that her Voices were from God, and all that she had done was by God's command; nor did she believe that her Voices had deceived her." She invoked St. Catherine; while being bound to the stake she had especially invoked St. Catherine; and St. Michael, the first of the Holy Ones who came to her in her father's garden. The doubt of an hour was ended, she and her Saints were reconciled. She may have seen them through the vapour of fire.

Last, with a great voice she called "JESUS!" Her head drooped, and the Daughter of God went home to her Father's House. Her heart, *cor cordium*, was unconsumed.

. . . . . .

That the world might have no relic of her of whom the world was not worthy, the English threw her ashes into the Seine.

APPENDIX A

PROPHECIES ATTRIBUTED TO BEDE AND MERLIN

THE successes of the Maid have been freely attributed to the influence of alleged prophecies by Bede and Merlin, invented or contaminated by priests of her party.

Concerning the Merlin prophecies we have said enough. We have shown that obscure sayings attributed to Merlin and reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth (*circ.* 1145), about a healing Virgin from the *Nemus Canutum*, were connected, in public opinion, with the *Bois Chesnu* of Domremy. The said Virgin was expected to come from the *Bois Chesnu*, therefore "from the marches of Loraine." This Virgin, in the prophecy of Marie d'Avignon, under Charles VI, was to restore France by arms (after it had been ruined by a woman, the wife of the insane King, people said).[1] We have shown that this saying was current in the valley of the Meuse, and was known to the peasantry before Jeanne announced her mission; so it was not composed in her interest by a cunning clerk. It may or may not have encouraged her; she certainly used it to persuade Katherine Royer.

Of all these facts the proofs have been given. But the prophecy attributed to Bede is another affair. We must not, like M. Anatole France, identify the Bede with the Merlin prediction.[2] "Bede" says not a word of the *Bois Chesnu*.

The saying of Merlin (which, of course, really applied to Britain, not to France) had won its way into folklore. The Bede

[1] *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 83, 84.

[2] France, vol. i. p. 204, note 1, in which the Bede prophecy in Morosini, vol. iv. p. 324, is identified with the Merlin prediction.

prediction was in Latin, and it was composed after Jeanne raised her standard.

The so-called Bede prophecy is not in Bede's works. It is a *chronogram*, "a commemorative phrase, or saying, in prose or verse." By selecting such letters in a chronogram as are Roman numerals, such as i, I, v, V, l, L, etc., and adding them up, their total gives the year-date of the event commemorated. The chronogram is a *memoria technica* of a date.

The chronogram of the date of the murder of Jean sans Peur is *Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum si vis.* "Away with him, crucify him if you will!" To get the date the chronogram is written thus:

ToLLe, toLLe, CrVCIfIge eVM sI VIs.

Adding together the Roman numerals, M (a thousand) and so on, we get 1419. The four L's give 200, the two C's give 200, + M that is 1400; the three V's make 15, the four I's make 4, result 1419. There are several such chronograms, each a *memoria technica* of a date, in the *Chronique de St. Michel*.[1]

These chronograms do not pretend to be prophetic. But the alleged Bede prophecy of the Maid was given out as prophetic. Only the first line of the three lines is a chronogram.

We first hear of it in an Italian letter of July 9, 1429, written from Bruges to Venice.[2] The writer says[3] that "at Paris . . . many prophecies have been found which make mention of this young lady" (the Maid), "among which is one of Bede in Alex(andro)." The chronogram is given, it sums up to 1429.[4]

On any remarkable occurrence the learned looked up their collections of oracles, such rubbish as Onomacritus is said to have preserved and interpolated in ancient Athens.

There is no work of Bede "*In Alexandro*." But Bede, as M. Lefèvre-Pontalis shows, was confused with Merlin; the Christian historian (672–735) with the heathen Celtic seer of Arthur's Court. Now Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicated his popular

[1] *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 313, 314.
[2] Morosini, vol. iii. p. 89.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 127.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 127. "People interpret it in various ways."

tract on the prophecies of Merlin to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln (1123–1148), in the words "*Ad Alexandrum.*" The dedication "*Ad Alexandrum*" was mistaken for the title "*In Alexandro*" in a book called "Alexander." Bede and Merlin were rolled into one, and prophecies of Merlin were attributed to Bede in a non-existent book of Bede "*In Alexandro.*"

Christine de Pisan, an ancient religious lady, quotes Bede with Merlin in a poem on the Maid, written on July 31, 1429, when Charles VII was expected at the gates of Paris.[1]

Much earlier, Creton, the French chronicler of the death of our Richard II, shows that the confusion of Merlin with Bede was already made in England.[2]

The so-called Bede's prophecy is given, variously, by the Italian letter-writer of July 9, 1429; by Jean Brehal, Grand Inquisitor;[3] by Bower, the Scottish chronicler,[4] and by others.

The first line of the three yields the date 1429. The two other lines read, "The young French cocks will make preparations for new wars, in *Taurus*; behold wars break out, a Maid carries flags."

In his opinion given at the Trial of Rehabilitation of Jeanne, Brehal remarks that "some say" (*on dit*) that Bede foretold the Maid in this chronogram. Brehal does not think much of this, and is more impressed by the Merlin prophecy, which, he says, is good folklore.[5] He interprets a form of the version given in Geoffrey of Monmouth; he leaves out the words about London, for which he had no use.[6]

He also gives, and comments on, a long prophecy attributed to "Engelida, daughter of the King of Hungary." This was certainly composed after July 17, 1429, and before the failure at Paris. The Maid, we learn, has a soft voice, a little red birth-mark behind the ear, and *collum modicum*, which Brehal understands as "a short neck."

He says that many may think this prophecy rather less than

[1] *Procès*, vol. v. p. 12.
[2] Creton (Webb), pp. 168, 169, 371. Buchon, p. 412.
[3] *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 334–349; cf. 338–339.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 481.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 338, 340.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 341, 342.

authentic! Still, we should try to take prophecies in a favourable sense.

The conclusion seems to be (1) that Jeanne and the people of her district knew a folklore prophecy,—Merlin filtered through Marie d'Avignon, and localised at the *Bois Chesnu*,—and that the learned knew the saying in a literary shape in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

(2) A mere chronogram, a new *jeu d'esprit* on the events of 1429, was in Paris by July in that year attributed to Bede (through the old confusion of Bede with Merlin), and was circulated to encourage the French party by the evidence of a statement of facts,—which does not predict victory. Paris was the source of this sham prophecy, which may be due to the ingenuity of a Carmelite attached to his rightful King.

(3) The prophecy of Engelida is a fabrication of between July 17 and September 8, 1429. But Jeanne had relieved Orleans in May 1–8, and I fail to see that "without these pious frauds" (the chronogram and Engelida) "the marvels of the Maid would not have been accomplished."[1]

In May 1–8, Engelida had not vaticinated; and if any one thinks that Saint Loup, Les Augustins, the Tourelles, and Jargeau were stormed on the strength of a chronogram (saying that "a girl carries flags"), a chronogram certainly written *after* the Maid raised her victorious standard, I envy his gift of faith, though I wish it were devoted to doctrines more plausible.

(I have rested on the learning of M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, in Morosini, vol. iv. annexe xvi., drawing my own conclusions.)

[1] Anatole France, vol. i. p. 207.

APPENDIX B

THE ATTACK ON PARIS

IN the text I have shown that Jeanne's account of the attack on Paris (September 8, 1429) is precisely corroborated by that of a cool observer within the walls, Fauquemberque. The Maid said that the nobles intended to make an *escarmouche*, a military demonstration.[1] Fauquemberque says twice that they hoped to do more by a popular tumult within than by force of arms from without.[2]

M. France says that the attack was undoubtedly decided on in the Royal Council. No doubt it was; but of his eight citations in proof, not one proves the fact, and the whole responsibility is thrown on Jeanne by the Accuser.[3]

"The Maid was not, it seems, informed as to the resolutions taken." The four citations given in proof do not say a word to this effect.[4] Jeanne remarks that the nobles intended to make a demonstration, while she meant to go through with the attack. Now their intention, as Fauquemberque asserts, *was* to make a demonstration, and raise a tumult; and Jeanne knew that.

Had they meant business, as M. France supposes, on the evidence of their lost masses of siege material, they would not have begun at two in the afternoon, and placed their guns "a little behind Windmill Hill, in shelter from the fowlers, culverins, and guns of Paris."[5] They were behind the hill in ambush, hoping to fall on any sortie made by the garrison.[6] If their guns were

[1] *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 146, 147.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 456–458.
[3] France, vol. ii. p. 73, note 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 73, note 3.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 75.
[6] Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 87.

capable of bombarding the town from behind a hill which concealed the presence of the main body of the army, the ambush was betrayed by the guns.

As to leaving their siege material behind, they knew that the besieged would not sally forth to look for it; and they did not.[1] The Maid was up at dawn, though wounded,[2] and, of course, meant to return and recover the siege material; but the King sent two princes of the blood to stop her march.[3]

Consequently the siege material and 700 waggons fell into the hands of the unmolested people and garrison of Paris. Thus at least, I interpret the evidence. The blame lies on the King.

[1] France, vol. ii. p. 80.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 82.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

APPENDIX C

CHARGES AGAINST JEANNE IN MATTERS OF FACT

The Sign given to the King. The Male Costume. The Question of Confession

The inquiries put to Jeanne were often repeated, and were purposely sprung on her in different connections. No point was of more moment in the minds of the judges than the sign which the Maid was said to have given to her King at their first interview. This token, as we have seen, Jeanne could not in loyalty reveal. Had she done so, the judges would have triumphed, saying, "Charles de Valois, King as he terms himself, is not convinced of his own legitimacy, and is pursuing his claim to the crown of France on the strength of an assurance from a sorceress who deals with devils."

The Maid perfectly understood the intentions of her judges, and warned them frequently that there were questions which she would not answer, or would not answer truly. In the course of the long inquiry, she disguised in a flimsy veil of symbolism the truth about the sign given to the King. The sign, she said at last, was a mysterious crown brought by a visible angel, and her symbolism rested on a blending of the first interview at Chinon with the coronation at Reims. M. Quicherat held,[1] and most inquirers agree with him, that Jeanne based her story on the questions which were put to her, and developed it as the interrogatories proceeded. M. Anatole France declares this theory to be "impossible." "The judges," he says, "had learned through their informers that Jeanne bragged of having given a sign to

[1] *Aperçus Nouveaux*, p. 64.

the King in the shape of a precious crown. That is the truth of the matter." On the suggestion of a story in the legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria (who was said to have received from an angel a crown of celestial grace, and set it on the head of the Roman Empress), "Jeanne averred that a similar thing had happened to herself. In France" (when at liberty) "she had made up several wonderful tales about crowns, and in one of these she represented that she, in the great chamber of the castle of Chinon, in the midst of the nobles, received from the hands of an angel, a crown to be given to the King."[1] M. France presents another form of his legend. Speaking of the coronation he says: "In one of her dreams she had given a shining crown to her King: she expected to see it brought into the cathedral by heavenly envoys." For this fable M. France cites *Procès*, vol. i. p. 108. That page contains not a word about the subject.[2] There is not a tittle of recorded evidence to prove that Jeanne ever dreamed the dream or told the cock-and-bull stories when free and in France.

M. France, who regards Jeanne[3] as "unable to distinguish between the true and the false" by reason of her "perpetual hallucinations," conceives that none the less she had her doubts as to the actual truth of this marvellous story; perhaps she thought it true in the spiritual sense alone. "However that may be, by the way in which the judges conducted the inquiry," it is plain that they knew all of this extraordinary tale,—which Jeanne according to the critic had habitually told when in freedom among her own people.[4]

M. France gives a reference to chapter and verse for his allegation that Jeanne had told her fairy tales of crowns and angels in France. This is enough for the general reader; but a glance at the reference given, proves that M. France's so-called evidence has no bearing on his statements.[5] The passage referred

[1] France, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 520.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. iii.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 265, note 5.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 266. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 120–122.

to merely contains *part of the story told to the judges*, and is not evidence that the tale was told by her in France. I know not how to understand the method of making very strange statements, and supporting them by references to books and pages in which I can find no such matter.

While there is absolutely no evidence that Jeanne ever told any such silly story in France, all the *contemporary* evidence of letter-writers, and all the evidence of witnesses of 1450–1456, merely represents her as making a verbal communication to the King, which surprised and pleased him, or which he kept secret. In a note I cite examples.[1]

The evidence merely declares that the sign was conveyed in a verbal communication. Had Jeanne gone about with a tale of an angel and a crown, the fact would appear in the contemporary news-letters, Italian and German. Moreover, Jeanne was not an idiot. Her first interview with the King was witnessed by many courtiers and ecclesiastics, who saw no crown and no angel. Had she chattered *in France* about an angel and a crown, she would have been contradicted by hundreds of eye-witnesses, and would at once have lost all credit. She perfectly distinguished between what, to her, was real in her visions, and what was her own composition, produced at Rouen, based on the questions put to her, and deliberately adapted to the purpose of concealing the truth as to the King's secret. This can be and will be proved on the evidence of her judges themselves.

We now follow her through the maze of the questions and replies.

On February 22, she said that, "before her King trusted her, he himself had many apparitions and fair revelations." About these she refused to answer in detail. What she meant may be gathered, probably from the following modern instance. Monsieur

[1] Rotselaer, April 22, 1429. *Procès*, iv. 426. Alain Chartier, July 1429. *Procès*, v. 133. Pasquerel, *Procès*, iii. 103. D'Aulon, *Procès*, iii. 209. Morosini, iii. 47, 48, note 1 : the sense is obscure. Letter from Bruges of May 10 (?), 1429. Ayroles, *La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, iii. 576. Morosini, iii. 97, note 2.

J. B. Estrade was present, in February–March 1858, on several occasions when Bernadette Soubirous was in ecstasy at the Grotto of Lourdes, in view of the apparition, visible only to her, of the lady who described herself as "The Immaculate Conception." In 1888, M. Estrade met the Archbishop of Reims, who said, "It seems that you were one of the favoured witnesses of the apparitions of the Grotto?" "Yes, Monseigneur, unworthy as I am, the Virgin accorded me that grace."[1]

The Archbishop and M. Estrade both, quite without reference to the Maid, spoke of apparitions witnessed by M. Estrade, when, in fact, he saw none; he only saw Bernadette seeing them.

Jeanne employed the same form of speech. The King had many revelations from her about the appearances to her, and perhaps saw her when she was seeing them.

Jeanne went farther, "her King and several others heard and saw the Voice coming to her; Charles de Bourbon was present, and two or three others."[2]

There are points which seem to indicate that, with the permission of the King, she revealed to some of his courtiers the message of the Voices touching his doubts about his legitimacy, under oaths of secrecy.

On February 27, she said, "I have revelations concerning the King which I will not tell to you."

"Does the Voice forbid?"

"I have not taken counsel. Give me a delay of fifteen days and I will answer you. . . . I am more afraid of displeasing these Voices than of answering you."[3]

She had once, at a single interview, told her King what had been revealed to her.[4]

"Was there an angel above the head of your King when first you saw him?" "By our Lady, I do not know, I saw none." The judges seem to have heard a legend that she recognised the King in the crowd of men by the vision of an angel hovering

[1] *Les Apparitions de Lourdes*, p. 9, 1906.
[2] *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 56, 57.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 63. Earlier, *Procès*, vol. i. p. 56.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 73.

above him. "The King had a good token for believing in me, *et per clerum*" (he had the assent of the Doctors). What revelations the King had, she "would not tell in that year," but a token he had *de factis suis*, "about his own doings," before he trusted her.[1] If I do not mistranslate *de factis suis*, Jeanne here told the full truth, except that she kept back the nature of the *facta*, the King's secret prayer.

On March 1, she was asked what sign she gave to her King "I have always answered that you shall not hear that from my mouth." "Do *you* not know what the sign was?" "You shall not know it from me. I promised in such a place that I cannot tell you without perjuring myself. I promised this to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, without their asking my promise. I did it because too many people would have sought an answer from me, if I had not promised these Saints."

"Was any one else present when you showed the sign to your King besides himself?" "I think no one else was present there, although many people were near."

This refers to the first interview at Chinon.

"*Did you see a crown on the head of your King, when you showed him the sign?*" "I cannot tell you that without perjury."

They seem to have heard or guessed, that she recognised the King, either by an angel *above*, or by a visionary crown *on* his head. It is they who here introduce both crown and angel.

They then asked about the crown used at Reims, and, as we have already shown (in the chapter on the Coronation), she said that a crown found at Reims was used, but that the King could have had one much richer, had he waited. This crown was brought to him later.[2] She appears to have referred, as we saw, to an actual crown, which arrived too late for the ceremony (see pp. 181–183). If this crown were that of St. Louis at Liège, or another of the same fashion, it was circled about with figures of angels wrought in silver.

[1] *Procès*, vol. i. p. 75. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 90, 91.

On March 10, being asked, "What was the sign that came to your King?" She answered, "It is fair and honourable, and trusty, and the richest in the world."[1]

In the opinion of Quicherat, as has been said, which I share, she thenceforth developed her replies on the lines suggested by the interrogations. The judges had brought in the story about a crown or an angel above the King's head. The real sign was her remark as to the King's secret prayer, his secret doubts of his own legitimacy, and his right to involve the country in war for the sake of the crown. In her answers the Maid henceforth spoke of her revelation to him of his right to the crown, in the terms of her presentation to him of an actual crown, with the further conceptions of the imperishable symbolic crown, "no goldsmith on earth could fashion it," of righteous rule, and of herself as the angel who brought the crown. As we have seen the Archbishop of Embrun had spoken of her as an angel.[2] The allegory is plain, if the judges did not understand its general drift, they must have been very obtuse.

Asked why she would not show the sign, as she herself had wished to see the vision claimed by Catherine of Rochelle, she said that she would have been content had Catherine's sign been shown as hers was, before the Archbishop of Reims, and other prelates; Charles de Bourbon, La Trémoïlle, d'Alençon, and other knights, who saw and heard it as distinctly as she saw her judges.

Asked if the sign still existed, she said, "It will last a thousand years," and—returning to the actual crown of France—"it is in the King's treasury." "Is it gold or silver, precious stone, or a crown?" She refused to reply.

Her Voices at Domremy had told her "to go boldly before the King, he will have a good token to persuade him to believe in and accept you."[3]

"An Angel from God and from no other gave the sign to the King, and the learned men ceased to argue over me when they had knowledge of that token."

[1] *Procès*, vol. i. p. 119. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 409. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 120.

M. France writes that "she seems to forget that the interview at Chinon came before the examination at Poitiers, while Pasquerel, who had the facts from her, makes the same error in his deposition."[1] Jeanne's reply is clear; it is true that the clerks began to trouble her after her words to the King, but then they ceased to trouble after they were told what her words had been.

Jeanne said that the King expressed his content with the sign that she withdrew into a little chapel, and "heard say" that after she departed more than three hundred persons saw the sign. It is highly improbable that so many were admitted to the knowledge of the secret. Asked if she and her King did reverence to the angel, she replied, "I did, and knelt and took off my cap"—probably in prayer in the chapel.[2]

The judges must now have been sufficiently puzzled, or must have seen that she would only amuse them with a story.

On March 12, they got no more from her, but persevered on March 13. "I promise that I will speak of it no more to any man," she said, and after this warning, averred that the angel promised to the King his realm by aid of God and herself, and not

[1] France, vol. ii. p. 301, note 1.

M. France has misread the passage, I think, for Pasquerel speaks of Jeanne's reply *to the King*, "I tell thee from my Master, that thou art true heir of France, and son of the King," as coming after many inquiries *made by the King*, not by the clergy at Poitiers. At her first interview with him, the King, says Pasquerel, then said to those standing by that "Jeanne had told him certain secrets which none knew or could know but God only." (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 103, note 1.)

D'Alençon was not present at this interview, and Jeanne meant that he and the others, with the Archbishop and several other Bishops, were present, at the end of the second inquiry at Poitiers, and were informed of what the real sign had been. After this the clerks ceased to argue with her.

While the King lived, the real nature of the secret could not be revealed to the world, but Jeanne's insistence that she told much to the clerks at Poitiers, which they certainly never revealed, suggests that, at the time, oaths of secrecy were scrupulously kept. The theory that the secret was twice revealed, once to the King, later to his Council and some Churchmen, seems more probable than that Jeanne forgot the order of events and placed her first interview with Charles after the inquiries at Poitiers; forgot the facts so early that she misinformed Pasquerel. But Pasquerel merely refers, later, to the Poitiers interrogations, and to the delays caused by *tantis interrogationibus*, "by so great inquiries."

[2] *Procès*, vol. i. p. 122.

otherwise. "Did the angel put the crown on the King's head?" "It was given to an Archbishop, him of Reims, in the presence of the King, and the Archbishop took it and gave it to the King, in my presence, and it is in the King's treasury."

This merely means the Coronation at Reims.

Asked when the crown was brought? she returned to the scene at Chinon; it was late in the evening, in March or April.

"The crown is of fine gold, . . . and signifies that the King shall hold the kingdom of France."

"Did you handle or kiss it?"

"No!"

Asked how the angel came, she answered that he came in by the doorway, *bowed down before the King*, and spoke the words of the sign which she had already given, namely, that the King should be crowned by her aid, and hold the realm. Here the allegory is thin indeed—any one could see that no "angel" but herself did reverence to a mortal King by bowing down before him!

Then she went far towards revealing the truth of the sign and secret.

"*The angel put the King in memory of his fair patience in the great troubles that had come upon him.*" It was in the stress of these troubles that Charles made the prayer of patience reported by Pierre de Sala on the authority of de Boisy, who was informed by the King:

"Saying within his heart, without word spoken, that, if so it were that he was the true heir, born of the noble House of France, and the kingdom justly his own, God might be pleased to guard and defend him, or at least give him grace to avoid death or prison, and escape to Spain or Scotland, ancient brothers in arms and allies of the Kings of France."[1]

Such was "his fair patience" of which the angel, that is Jeanne herself, had actually spoken to her King. Before her judges, she came perilously near to telling the secret.

[1] Sala, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 280.

She then threw in descriptions of an angelic company with the angel, and an account of her regret at the departure of the angel; conceivably she had one of her visions: perhaps she merely accommodated them to the occasion.[1]

As to the crown; being asked where the angel obtained it, she deviated into open allegory. "There was no goldsmith in the world who could make it so rich and fair . . . it is of right good fragrance, and will so remain, if it be kept well, as it should be." That is, the crown is not made with hands, and will endure while Kings of France rule righteously. M. France maintains that she had forgotten all the "coaching" about righteous rule under God given to her by the piously fraudulent priests.[2] She had not forgotten any of her ideas, as we see.

Finally, on the day of her Martyrdom, if we accept the informal document which the clerks refused to sign, Jeanne confessed that the story of the crown "was a fiction, and that she was the angel."[3] That was sufficiently obvious, but the dull judges appear to have been mystified. The confession proves that Jeanne did know facts from fancies.

They did not get the King's secret, though Jeanne hovered on the verge of it.

Nowhere is there extant a hint of a rumour about a material crown or any material object connected with a secret about such an object, except in the Italian news letter of July 1429.[4]

In replying to her judges, Jeanne said nothing about a crown, real or symbolical, till they themselves introduced the questions at the fifth day of her examination (March 1, 1431), "Did you see a crown on your King's head, when you showed him the sign? Had he a crown when he was at Reims?"[5]

Throughout the inquiry, she showed her appreciation of the truth of the case. She was asked if she would refer her story of the crown to Charles de Bourbon, La Trémoïlle, La Hire, and de

[1] *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 140–144.
[2] France, vol. ii. pp. 263, 264.
[3] *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 480, 481.
[4] Morosini, vol. iii. pp. 161–163.
[5] *Procès*, vol. i. p. 91.

Boussac, of whom, or of some of whom, she had spoken as witnesses. They would write their evidence under their seals. She answered, "Give me a messenger, and I will write to them all about this trial." If this be not permitted, she will not refer to them. "Bring them here, and then I will answer."

"Will you refer to and submit to the Church of Poitiers?" "Do you think to catch me thus and betray me to you?" Neither clerics nor courtiers, as she knew, could swear to the presence of crown or angel.[1]

From beginning to end, her mind was perfectly clear, undimmed by dreams. There were no "*rêves incertains d'une enfant.*"[2] She had from the first warned her judges that in certain points she would not tell all the truth; she did tell more than was quite safe.

The Male Costume

The wearing of man's dress was a point of the first magnitude in the minds of the judges. "The dress is nothing; is a trifle," she said, with her robust common sense.[3] On February 27, she was asked by whose advice she wore male attire? "She several times refused to answer, said at last that she burdened no man with this, and several times varied in her answers," which are not textually reported.[4] On February 24, she said that she dressed as she did by the counsel of no mortal man, and that she did nothing but by command of God and the Angels.[5]

We have already seen (p. 77) the evidence of Jean de Novelonpont on this matter. He asked her if she would ride to Chinon in his clothes, and she replied that she would willingly ride in man's dress.[6] If he first made the suggestion, she certainly would not burden him with it; she was loyal to the most minute point of honour, and we must presume that her Voices sanctioned her attire. But there is, as we saw (pp. 76, 77), proof that she had

[1] *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 396, 397.
[2] France, vol. ii. pp. 305, 306.
[3] *Procès*, vol. i. p. 74.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 54.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 74.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 436, 437.

thought of walking to France, and actually did set out, in man's attire, before she had any hope of getting a horse and an escort. Her kinsman, Lassart or Lassois, deponed thus, "When the Maid saw that Robert de Baudricourt would not have her taken to the Dauphin, she borrowed clothes from him, the witness, and said that she wished to depart, and he took her to St. Nicholas," whence, says Katherine Royer, "they returned to Vaucouleurs, because, as she heard, Jeanne herself said that she could not honourably depart thus": that is, on foot. The St. Nicholas spoken of cannot be that which Jeanne actually visited, when at Nancy, for that is in the opposite direction from the road to France.[1]

Thus the idea of wearing male dress was prior to the hopes held out by Jean de Novelonpont. On later occasions[2] she remained firm in her resolution to wear her male costume. It was not only the sign that she had not abandoned her mission, but, among soldiers alone with her in her cell, as among soldiers in war, the costume was the protection of her modesty. The doctors of her party had approved of it, while, as she said, it was otherwise a trifle of no importance.

Question of Confession

As to her Visions and Voices, the Maid frankly admitted that she had not revealed these experiences to her curé or to any Churchman.[3] Her motive for this silence was no command of her Voices, but fear that the facts would come to be known, and that the Burgundians or her father would prevent her from setting forth to France.

In 1428–29 her neighbours knew of her intention; they did not know that she believed herself to be advised by the Saints whom she saw and heard.

Her abstinence from revealing her Visions and Voices to priests

[1] *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 444 and note 1, p. 447.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 133, 165, 166.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 128.

was one of the main charges on which she was condemned. "You accepted their instructions at once without consulting your curé or any other ecclesiastic. And yet you believe in them and that they are of God as firmly as you believe in the Christian faith, and in the Passion of our Lord."[1] Apparently the mere failure to mention the experiences in confession was no great sin; the sin was the acceptance of the Voices and of their counsel, before they had been passed as orthodox by a priest. Yet they were later confided to the clerks at Poitiers, and were passed as orthodox by the Archbishop of Embrun and by Gerson.

Jeanne might have had to wait long enough had she gone about consulting confessors. St. Theresa told no one, or at least for long concealed her first vision of our Lord.[2] But it must be admitted that she took no action on the vision, did not make it the ground of apparently impossible military enterprises. When her visions became more frequent, one confessor advised St. Theresa to say nothing about them to anybody. St. Theresa was much pleased with the advice. But our Lord Himself told her that the confessor was mistaken; at confession she must always tell all about her visions.[3]

These are subjects on which it is obvious that much variety of clerical opinion prevails, and Jeanne might have wasted her time among the disputes of directors. But she took the matter into her own hands, and, from the age of thirteen, kept her own secret.

The writings of St. Theresa concerning her own visions, her remarks about seeing them "with the eyes of the spirit," and in a state "almost of ravishment," so that she sat down to keep her hold on herself (sometimes she was lifted up bodily from the earth), do not make the same impression on the mind as the Maid's report of her own Visions. Those of St. Theresa seem less "external" and less substantial.[4] Yet she had control enough when, on her

[1] *Procès*, vol. i. p. 436.
[2] *Œuvres de Sainte Thérèse*, vol. i. p. 62. Paris, 1880.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 271, 273, 280, 281. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 391, 392.

confessor's orders, she made the sign of the Cross (as Jeanne also did), and a contemptuous gesture against the most sacred appearance. "When the sacred appearance was present, men might have torn me to pieces without compelling me to believe that it was the demon,"[1] says St. Theresa.

Jeanne was equally hard to be convinced by her accusers and judges that her Visions were other than holy.

[1] *Œuvres de Sainte Thérèse*, vol. i. pp. 315, 316.

APPENDIX D

THE VOICES AND VISIONS OF JEANNE D'ARC

ABOUT the visions and Voices we learn nothing when we are told that they "were an illusion of her heart." That phrase adds nothing to knowledge.[1]

On this topic I had written a long chapter, but came to recognise that my psychical lore and my inferences might seem as prolix and futile as the "celestial science" of the Doctors in Jeanne's own day. Nobody now asserts that her psychical experiences were feigned by her; nobody denies that she had the experiences; nobody ascribes them, like the learned of Paris University, to "Satan, Belial, and Behemoth."

The most recent scientific utterance on the psychology of Jeanne d'Arc is that of Dr. Georges Dumas, Professor in the Sorbonne, an eminent neuropathologist. Practically, and in the right scientific spirit, Dr. Dumas shrinks from the task of "a posthumous diagnosis." If the visions and Voices always appeared at one side (which, we have seen was not the case, the light was often all round), then Charcot would have regarded Jeanne as hysterical, and subject to "unilateral hallucinations." But it is not known that she was hysterical, or suffered from *hémianesthésie* (absence of sensation on one side).

Moreover, "contemporary neurologists attach less importance than Charcot did to unilateral hallucinations in the diagnosis of hysteria."

D'Aulon repeated in 1456 the remarks of some women who did not know, by observation, that the Maid was subject to the

[1] France, vol. i. p. lxv.

periodical infirmity of her sex.[1] If she was not, she had "an insufficient physical development found among many nervous patients." But Quicherat regarded the evidence as valueless: and shows that there is just as good testimony to prove that Jeanne was exempt from other necessities of nature.[2] She had "*un art merveilleux et en même temps une force inouie de pudeur.*" Thus there is no proof of inadequate physical development in a girl of unexampled physical strength and endurance.

Her visions and Voices, says Dr. Dumas, arose in her "*unconscious* thought" (*pensée obscure*), and were often at variance with her "*conscious* thought" (*pensée claire*). Her experiences seemed objective, certain, and this "makes us think again of hysteria." But it is needless to say that hallucinations occurring once or twice in a lifetime, are by no means uncommon in the experiences of people perfectly free from hysteria.[3]

These hallucinations, I can aver from three experiences, are not to be distinguished, except by later evidence,—say, to the actual absence of the person apparently seen,—from normal perceptions.

Dr. Dumas ends: "If hysteria had any part in Jeanne, it was only by way of permitting her unconscious thought ('les sentiments les plus sécrets de son cœur') to become objective in the form of heavenly Voices and visions; it was only the open gate by which the divine—or what she conceived to be the divine—entered into her life, fortified her faith, and consecrated her mission. But as regards her intelligence, and her will, Jeanne remained sane and upright. Nervous pathology can scarcely throw a feeble glimmer of light on a part of this soul . . ."[4]

In these conclusions I entirely agree with Dr. Dumas. He has been unable to discover evidence for nervous disturbances in Jeanne (at least he only states the hypothesis of hysteria as conditional), and he admits the chief point, that her normal will,

[1] *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 219.
[2] *Aperçus Nouveaux*, pp. 59, 60. Beaucroix, in *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 118.
[3] William James, *Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii. pp. 114–131.
[4] Dumas in Anatole France, vol. ii. pp. 459–465.

and her normal intelligence, were thoroughly sane and straight. Her visions and Voices were (in modern phrase) "automatisms," expressions by which were made manifest to her the monitions of her *unconscious* thought. Any one interested in this obscure problem may study a modern case, that of Hélène Smith, as observed by Professor Flournoy of Geneva, in his book, *Des Indes à la Planète Mars*. Hélène saw no Saints, but an imaginary "control" named Léopold, who gave her advice, usually good, though conveyed in an eccentric way. She believed in the objective existence of Léopold. She exhibited "dissociation"—was more or less distraught and unconscious of her actual surroundings—when Léopold appeared; differing on this point from Jeanne d'Arc. Her experiences followed on trances into which she fell at spiritualistic *séances*, not attended by Jeanne!

But what do we mean by "unconscious thinking"? To answer this question appears to me, for the present, to be beyond the power of psychological science. We may, if we choose, study the treatise of Mr. F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, and make what we can of his theory of the "Subliminal Self." With Mr. Myers it is, in certain of its aspects, all-conscious mind, in itself free from conditions of space and time; and with that Self the human agent is occasionally in touch more or less imperfect. The results are among others, moments of "telepathy," "precognition," and "clairvoyance."

Of these faculties, in Jeanne's case, Quicherat, a free-thinker, chose three examples: her knowledge of the King's secret; her foreknowledge of the arrow wound, not mortal, at Orleans; her discovery of the buried sword at Fierbois. These, he says, "rest on bases of evidence so solid, that we cannot reject them without rejecting the very foundation of the history."[1] "I have no conclusion to draw," he says. "Whether science can find her account in the facts or not, the visions must be admitted, and the strange spiritual perceptions that issued from the visions.

[1] *Aperçus Nouveaux*, pp. 61–66.

These peculiarities in the life of Jeanne seem to pass beyond the circle of human power."[1]

At this point Mr. Myers takes up the subject, produces an immense mass of modern evidence to prove that such faculties are *within* the circle of human powers, and presents, what Quicherat does not offer, a theory of their origin in the "Subliminal Self." In his first volume Mr. Myers regards Jeanne's monitions as arising from her "unaided" subliminal self. In his second volume he classes her as an ecstatic, and, in his definition of ecstasy, admits the intervention of extraneous spirits. Here he is at one with Chanoine Dunand, in his vast volume, *Les Voix et les Visions de Jeanne d'Arc.* Mr. Myers, unhappily, did not live to give the final revision to his *Human Personality*, and was not minutely familiar with the history of the Maid.

Here, then, I leave the matter, not from lack of interest in it, but because to discuss it is impossible in an historical treatise. My own bias is obvious enough. I incline to think that in a sense not easily defined, Jeanne was "inspired," and I am convinced that she was a person of the highest genius, of the noblest character. Without her genius and her character, her glimpses of hidden things (supposing them to have occurred) would have been of no avail in the great task of redeeming France. Another might have heard Voices offering the monitions; but no other could have displayed her dauntless courage and gift of encouragement; her sweetness of soul; and her marvellous and victorious tenacity of will.

[1] *Aperçus Nouveaux*, p. 46.

NOTES

P. 18, line 20. The best modern analysis of the evidence is that by M. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. i. pp. 166–183. M. de Beaucourt thinks that "History has turned Burgundian;" that there was no premeditation of crime; that the Dauphin was borne off the scene when it became menacing.

P. 19, line 7. Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. i. *passim*.

P. 19, line 10. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 195.

P. 19, line 12. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 298.

P. 19, line 23. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. i. pp. 241–246.

P. 20, line 7. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 385. 1710.

P. 21, line 30. See the "band" in Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. i. pp. 438–440, note.

P. 22, line 26. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 142.

P. 25, line 23. Hinzelin, *Chez Jeanne d'Arc*. Paris, 1904.

P. 27, line 2. Siméon Luce, *La France pendant le Guerre de Cent Ans*, vol. i. p. 274.

P. 27, line 23. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 66.

P. 27, line 34. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 132.

P. 28, line 4. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 129 and p. 219, where by a blunder of the Accuser she is said to have disobeyed in the matter of her marriage.

P. 28, line 7. *Procès*, Index, cf. "D'Arc, Pierre."

P. 28, lines 14–16. While, at her Trial (in 1431), she declined to express absolute certainty about her age, Jeanne said that she thought herself thirteen when the Voices began; in 1431 seven years had elapsed since her Voices and visions began. (See *Procès*, i. 52, 65, 73, 128, 215, 216, 218.) According to a letter of Alain Chartier (?), of July 1429, her visions began when she had just reached her twelfth year (*Procès*, v. 132). According to a letter of Percéval de Boulainvilliers (June 21, 1429), she had *completed* her twelfth year when her visions commenced (*Procès*, v. 116). As in 1430–1431 her unusual experiences had lasted for seven years, if they began when she was twelve or thirteen, she was born in 1410–1412, and at her death was aged between nineteen and twenty-one. Cf. Lefèvre-Pontalis in *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 41, note 2.

P. 29, line 21. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 542.

P. 30, line 19. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 66.

P. 31, line 11. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 46.

P. 32, line 5. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 457.

P. 33, line 13. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 339–340.

P. 33, line 23. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 83.

P. 33, line 27. On the whole range of these prophecies, and on the French mediæval blending of the heathen Celtic seer Merlin with the Christian English historian Bede, see M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, in Appendix ix. to *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iv. pp. 316–327, with Michel and Wright, *Vie de Merlin attribuée à Geoffroy de Monmouth*, 1837. Geoffroy's two tracts on the subject are "Merlini Prophetia" and "Merlini Prophetiæ Continuatio," with his "Historia Britonum." These are works of the twelfth century. As translated by Mr. Sebastian Evans, the Merlin prophecy runs thus: "A damsel shall be sent forth *from the City of Canute's Forest* to work healing by leach-craft," with much prophetic verbiage referring to Caledon, London, and anywhere but France. Cf. Evans, *Geoffrey of Monmouth Translated*, p. 179. I do not see what *Nemus Canutum* has to do with Canute. *Canutum* means "grey," "hoary," "old." *Nemus Canutum* (*Bois Chenu*) is "the ancient wood"; *Bois Chesnu* is "the oak wood."

P. 34, line 1. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 207.

P. 34, line 9. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 116.

P. 34, line 16. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, ed. by A. Tuetey, p. 237.

P. 34, line 33. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 434.

P. 35, line 8. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 67, 68, 212.

P. 35, line 13. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 68.

P. 35, line 30. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 391.

P. 35, line 33. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 404.

P. 35, line 34. A historian of 1908 writes: "Some of the villagers believed that Christians went to walk with the fairies, and that Tuesday was the day for these rendezvous." But as the authority cited for this belief is not to be found in the passage cited, it may be a misreference (Anatole France, vol. i. p. 15, citing *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 450, which contains nothing of the sort).

P. 36, line 14. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 422.

P. 37, line 4. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 385, 386.

P. 37, line 11. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 389.

P. 37, line 16. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 396.

P. 37, line 17. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 398.

P. 37, line 18. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 402.

P. 37, line 21. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 413.

P. 37, line 22. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 419.

P. 37, line 24. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 420.

P. 37, line 26. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 424.

P. 37, line 27. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 427.

P. 37, line 32. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 453.

P. 38, line 1. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 209.

P. 38, line 23. As M. Anatole France correctly writes, "she revealed none of these things to her *Curé*, in which she was much to be blamed according to good theologians, but quite irreproachable according to other excellent doctors" (A. France, vol. i. p. 50).

P. 41, line 11. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 117.

P. 41, line 20. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 128.

P. 41, line 25. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 50, 51.
P. 42, line 4. *Troilus and Cressida*, Act III., Scene 2.
P. 42, line 14. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 480.
P. 42, line 19. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. pp. xxxii–xxxiii, xxxviii–xxxix. Paris, 1908. Cf. pp. xxii–xxiii.
P. 42, line 19. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 128.
P. 42, line 21. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 52, 216.
P. 42, line 23. This reading, in *Procès*, i. 216, is correct; that in *Procès*, i. 52, is erroneous.
P. 42, line 26. On the psychology of these experiences see Appendix D.
P. 43, line 7. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 128.
P. 43, line 24. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 437–438. Cf. France, vol. i. pp. 53–54.
P. 43, line 33. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 61, 62, 481.
P. 44, line 13. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 71, 72, 73, 94, 171.
P. 45, line 1. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186.
P. 45, line 19. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 180.
P. 45, line 21. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 72.
P. 45, line 29. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 89; cf. vol. i. pp. 72–73; France, vol. i. p. 35, note 4.
P. 45, line 32. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 433.
P. 45, line 33. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 86.
P. 45, line 33. "She passed for being rather crazy," says M. Anatole France (*Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, i. 56), but cites no evidence for the statement. "She suffered from the mockery which pursued her." For this a reference is given to Colin's evidence (*Procès*, vol. ii. p. 432). On p. 433 Colin says that he and others derided her. "The mother of Nicolas, godson of Jeanne, made rustic mockery of a girl who danced so seldom." The evidence does not say so (*Procès*, vol. ii. p. 427, not p. 426).
P. 46, line 9. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 53. Mr. F. C. Lowell, in his *Joan of Arc*, p. 39, note 2, maintains that the Maid went only once to Vaucouleurs, and thinks that the date given for the visit of May 1428 (*Procès*, ii. 456), "the Ascension," must mean the Circumcision (Jan. 1, 1429), or Nativity, or Baptism of our Lord. I adhere to the text of the MS. Bertrand de Poulengy, our authority for the date May 28, makes the Maid silent as to the siegeof Orleans, which she could not be, in January and February 1429. She also tells her Dauphin, in May 1428, not to offer battle to his enemies. Now, in January–February 1429, she was insisting that he *must* fight to rescue Orleans. These arguments seem conclusive against Mr. Lowell's theory.
P. 46, line 28. Plotinus, *Enneades* vi, 9, 11. Cf. *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, Gibb and Montgomery, pp. xlv–xlvi. Cambridge, 1908.
P. 47, line 6. Pasquerel, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 108.
P. 47, line 18. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. iii.
P. 47, line 27. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 96.
P. 47, line 34. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 457.
P. 50, line 34. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 387–461.
P. 51, line 12. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 66, 215.
P. 51, line 23. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, p. lxiv and pp. 301–305; Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 23.

P. 51, line 34. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, p. 88 (note to 87). The documents about the kinsfolk of Jeanne at Sermaize (de Bouteiller and de Braux, *Nouvelles Recherches sur la Famille de Jeanne d'Arc*) are regarded with suspicion, and I have abstained from quoting them.

P. 52, line 29. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. 97–100. On pp. cliv-clvi M. Luce gives the facts of the contract of October 7, 1423. The heads of houses are to pay yearly two *gros* (a *gros* being the twenty-fifth part of a *livre*) to the Damoiseau for protection. M. Luce says the total was not less than 220 gold crowns. He adds that at Martinmas (November 11, 1423) "the wretched villagers could not pay," and got two rich men to be their securities. The Damoiseau, furious at unpunctual payment, impounded the goods and chattels of one of the guarantees, Guy de Poignant, but, on December 8, was paid by the villagers, and gave them the receipt.

All this is on the faith of a document of March 31, 1427, when Guy de Poignant was trying to recover his losses from the people for whom he had been surety (cf. Luce, pp. 359–362). But in this document *the Seigneur of Domremy and Greux* is made a party to the case, as well as his villagers. Now the Seigneur, Henri d'Ogiviller, a Knight, was not a party to the debt for protection acknowledged by the villagers on October 7, 1423. M. Luce says that the 220 gold crowns "doubtless came from the tax of two *gros* for each hearth levied by the Damoiseau of Commercy on October 27, 1423" (*op. cit.* p. 359, note 2). But it is arithmetically impossible that a tax of two *gros* on each of eighty households should yield 220 gold crowns! Moreover, as we saw, the *Seigneur* now appears as one of the debtors and dependants in the suit brought by Guy de Poignant. Thus the 220 gold crowns owed by the Seigneur and his tenants cannot be the miserable 160 *gros*, at most, which the tenants, on October 7, 1423, promised to pay. The large sum in gold crowns may perhaps have been promised by Seigneur and tenants as the price of a local treaty of peace, secured by the Damoiseau between the Seigneur and people of the two villages on one side, and England and Burgundy on the other. The Damoiseau had a foot in both hostile camps, as La Trémoïlle notoriously had. Thus, on May 11, 1428, the churchmen of Craon paid 800 gold crowns, the gentry 1200, the *manants* and others not noble paid 5000 (?) to La Trémoïlle, "to have security against France and England" (*Les La Trémoïlle*, vol. i. pp. 172, 173). M. France (i. 29) follows M. Luce, estimating the total of the *gros* at 220 gold crowns, and giving a reference to "Luce, *preuve* li.," a document which says nothing about these coins (cf. France, vol. i. p. 66). For the varying values, and the purchasing power of the gold crown, see Boucher de Molandon, *Jacques d'Arc*, p. 5, note 3. Orleans, 1885. Twenty-five *gros* went to the *livre*, three or three and a half *livres* went to the gold crown; therefore 220 gold crowns represent over 5000 *gros*, not a mere 160 *gros*.

P. 53, line 9. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 30.

P. 53, line 18. Ayroles, *La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 430–431; Luce, *Jeanne d Arc à Domremy*, p. lxxx and *preuves* lxxv, p. 117.

P. 53, line 22. Dunand, *Histoire Complète de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. (1898).

P. 54, line 3. This Henri d'Orly, and this Barthélemy de Clefmont, made truces with René, Duc de Bar, the former in July 25 and the latter in August 1426. Part of Domremy was in the dominions of the Duc de Bar, which d'Orly seems to have regarded as reason good for pillaging Domremy and Greux. But, in June 1425, the Comte de Vaudemont was also at war with the Duc de Bar; none the less he sent Barthélemy, with seven or eight men, to rescue the Domremy cattle. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, p. 275.

P. 54, line 29. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. lxxxvii, lxxxviii, cxli, cxlii.

P. 56, line 12. Examples in silver gilt are in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries; one was found at Pluscarden, in the cell of the Monk of Dunfermline, who asserts himself to have been a follower of the Maid.

P. 56, line 32. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 51.

P. 58, line 24. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, cliv, clvi, 359, 362.

P. 59, line 15. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 449.

P. 60, line 6. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 21.

P. 60, line 13. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 444.

P. 60, line 23. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 83.

P. 60, line 24. Cf. Ayroles, *La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc* (*La Pucelle devant l'Église de son temps*), p. 495.

P. 60, line 32. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 442.

P. 61, line 5. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 454–458.

P. 61, line 29. Cf. Viriville, *Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 66, note 2.

P. 61, line 33. A. France, vol. i. p. 74; citing *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 392–393, 458–459.

P. 62, line 9. *Journal du Siège d'Orléans*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 118; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, *Procès*, vol iv. p. 205.

P. 62, line 12. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 444.

P. 62, line 17. France, vol. i. pp. 76–77.; citing *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 53 (but obviously meaning vol. i. p. 53) for what is not to be found therein. "Ipse autem Robertus bina vice recusavit et repulit eam, et in tertia vice ipsam recepit, et tradidit sibi homines; et ita etiam dixerat (*vox*) sibi quod eveniret." We must not translate the words which mean "he gave her men" as "he gave her to his men." If he had done *that*, there would have been evidence for the "outrages of the garrison." It has been asserted that "she regarded the rebuffs of Baudricourt as proofs of the authenticity of her mission, imagining that her Voices had predicted them." Her normal common sense must have predicted them, but it is not so certain that she supposed her Voices to have done so. In her examination at Rouen, as reported in the officia account of her Trial, she appears to blend her two visits to Vaucouleurs in a single narrative. She "stayed eight days with her uncle," Lassois. This appears to have been her first visit, in May 1428. She recognised Baudricourt, whom she had never previously seen, at first sight. "The Voice told me, That is the man. I told him that I must go into France." Apparently *this* was on her second visit, January 1429. "He

twice refused and rebuffed me; the third time he received me, and lent me men. The Voice said that it would happen" (*Procès*, i. 53). Did the Voice say that he would twice rebuff and then accept her, or merely that he would give her an escort? From the evidence of Jean de Novelonpont, and of her own request that the Duc de Lorraine would give her men, it appears that, in February 1429, she had despaired of help from Baudricourt (*Procès*, ii. 436; Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, i. 77).

P. 62, line 21. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 440.

P. 62, line 24. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 421.

P. 62, line 27. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 68.

P. 62, line 35. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d Arc à Domremy*, pp. clxvi–clxix.

P. 63, line 17. The two passages are in the *Procès*, vol. i.; the evidence of Jeanne is on pp. 127, 128; the slander of her accusers is on p. 215. M. Anatole France quotes for Jeanne's statement *Procès*, ii. 476. There is no such page in the volume! He adds, "What is strange, in the case of Jeanne, is that her parents declared her to be in the wrong, and took the side of the young man. She disobeyed their command when she sustained her cause, and appeared before the Official. She herself later declared that, in this affair, she disobeyed her parents, the only instance of disobedience on her part." For all this M. France cites *Procès*, vol. i. p. 128. Not a word of his story appears on that page. On p. 129 Jeanne says that she never disobeyed her parents except in leaving Domremy (cf. France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 84). M. France insists that, in going from Neufchâteau to Toul, Jeanne had to walk ten leagues thither, ten leagues back, "perhaps two or three times. And it was by luck if she did not march day and night with her false love (*fiancé*). . . . Her conduct, proceeding from a singular and heroic innocence, was ill regarded" (France, i. 85).

Taking a league as equivalent to three miles, and supposing Jeanne to visit Toul thrice, and to walk thirty miles a day, she marched a hundred and eighty miles during the fortnight of her stay at Neufchâteau. As M. France cites, in proof of her disobedience to her parents and their approval of the recalcitrant young man, texts which say nothing of these matters (*Procès*, i. 128, 215), and for her version, *Procès*, ii. 476, which does not exist, there is clearly a misunderstanding. In *Procès*, i. 129, Jeanne says that she disobeyed her parents only once, namely, in setting out for France, as we saw; and the legend about her disobedience to her parents has been, I think, adopted by historians, from Father Ayroles to M. France, from a casual blunder made by the framer of the charges against her in *Procès*, vol. i. p. 219, lines 12–16. The accuser, by an oversight, makes Jeanne say that she disobeyed her parents only once, in the matter of the marriage, whereas she says no word of that, but avers that her one disobedience was her departure to France (*Procès*, i. 129). As a result of the error, Jeanne's parents have been accused (not by M. France) of suborning the young man to perjure himself!

P. 63, line 26. Five Domremy witnesses, called in 1450–1456 to testify about the visit to Neufchâteau, dated the stay as lasting only "four days," "four or five days," or "three or four days" (*Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 392, 411, 414, 417, 454). This is remarkable, for Jeanne, at her Trial, said that the visit lasted "for about a fortnight" (*Procès*, i. 51, ii. 392, 411, 414, 417, 454). This is a curious discrepancy, for five witnesses were not likely to be much in error. Another notable fact is this: if the Domremy people fled to Neufchâteau in fear of the forces of Antoine de Vergy, sent to reduce Vaucouleurs, their reasons for apprehension were ended in the space of four or five days. Antoine was at St. Urbain, a short march from Vaucouleurs, on July 17; by July 22 he had abandoned the idea of attacking the town (Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. 220, 221, 222). Consequently Vaucouleurs was not "blockaded" at all; unless a confessedly insufficient force can blockade a strong town in three days. But M. Siméon Luce says that "when *blockading* Vaucouleurs the men of Antoine de Vergy would take care to complete the blockade by burning and pillaging most of the villages depending on the *Chatellenie* of which they desired to reduce the chief place to the English allegiance." M. France says, "De Vergy laid all the villages of the territory in blood and fire" (Luce, clxxv.; France, i. 80).

These are very active men-at-arms! They recognise formally their own inadequate numbers; they do not appear before Vaucouleurs till July 18; on July 22 they write that they have abandoned their enterprise, yet they have not only blockaded Vaucouleurs but burned and pillaged most of the villages within a twelve-mile radius, including Domremy, at least twelve miles distant!

These results arose from M. Luce's tendency to exaggerate the perils of Domremy. Probably its people fled to Neufchâteau about July 18, and returned home about July 23 (the "four or five days" of the witnesses) when Antoine de Vergy had withdrawn his men. It is not at all probable that de Vergy, with his small force, weakened it by sending a command to burn distant villages. We do not even know that it was during her stay at Neufchâteau that Jeanne went to Toul about the young man's suit: the theory of the Judges was that she remained for long as a servant at an inn in Neufchâteau, and thence went frequently to Toul, to force the reluctant young man to marry her!

As for M. France's idea that she kept trudging alone, or with her false lover, on foot to and from Toul, it is incredible. She had a brother to accompany her, and her father owned horses.

P. 63, line 30. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 396.

P. 65, line 13. Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, vol. i. pp. 152–153.

P. 65, line 24. *Bib. Cott. Titus* E.v. f. 373.

P. 66, line 28. Exchequer K.R. *Accounts* (*Army*), *Bundle* 51/27.

P. 67, line 6. Exchequer K.R. *Accounts* (*Army*), *Bundle* 52/1.

P. 71, line 11. These details are all from the *Journal du Siège d'Orléans*, in *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 96–113.

P. 71, line 21. *Book of Pluscarden*, a very dubious authority (ed. F. J. H. Skene, vol. i. pp. 362, 363).

P. 72, line 23. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 416, 431.

P. 73, line 18. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 448.

P. 73, line 27. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 443.

P. 74, line 7. The following argument has been based on the incident, "Who taught the prophecy to Jeanne? What peasant? There is reason to believe that the peasants knew nothing about it," in proof of which is cited the passage wherein Katherine Royer says that she remembered having heard the saying before! (*Procès*, ii. 447).

Moreover, we are told that this was "a special form of the prophecy, visibly arranged for Jeanne, since the Maid who should restore France is specifically said to come from the marches of Loraine. This topical addition cannot be the work of a ploughman, and reveals an intellect skilled in ruling souls and directing actions. Doubt is impossible, the prophecy, thus pointed and completed, is the work of a cleric, whose intentions are easily to be detected" (Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. pp. 51–54).

The repartee is obvious. The prediction was not made for Jeanne; it was a current saying. It was not "unknown to the peasantry." Katherine Royer remembered having heard it before, in conversation.

P. 74, line 9. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 446.

P. 74, line 13. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 460–461.

P. 74, line 16. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 436.

P. 75, line 9. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 436.

P. 75, line 16. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 396, note 5.

P. 75, line 25. *Act. Parl. Scot.*, ii. pp. 26–28; De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 397, note 7.

P. 75, line 32. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 399, note 3; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 134–137.

P. 76, line 13. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 120.

P. 77, line 16. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 437, 447. Jean de Novelonpont's words may be taken to mean that he and she left Vaucouleurs for Chinon on February 13, but the date accepted is February 23. Mr. Lowell prefers February 13 as the date of the start for Chinon (*Joan of Arc*, p. 46, note 5).

P. 77, line 32. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 54, ii. 391, 444.

P. 77, line 35. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 87.

P. 78, line 12. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 446, 447.

P. 78, line 25. *Journal du Siège*, *Chronique de la Pucelle*, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 125, 206.

P. 78, line 32. The authorship of the *Chronique* is attributed to one or other of the Cousinots, who were men of importance in Orleans during the siege, the elder being chancellor of the Duc d'Orléans. The *Chronique de la Pucelle*, however, was not *compiled* before 1467.

P. 79, line 16. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 128.

P. 79, line 20. According to Jean de Novelonpont, Jeanne only returned to Vaucouleurs from Nancy about February 13. He may be out of his reckoning by a day, or Jeanne may have told Baudricourt of her vision as soon as she arrived at Vaucouleurs, if we accept the story of her clairvoyance.

P. 79, line 24. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 406, 432, 445, 447, 448, and vol. v. p. 260.

P. 79, line 26. It has been suggested that Baudricourt, probably moved by Jean de Novelonpont and Bertrand de Poulengy, wrote to the Dauphin, asking leave to send Jeanne, and that Colet de Vienne, by February 23, had brought back a favourable answer. In that case, allowing for the rate of travelling, Baudricourt must have been won about the first week of February. If this view were correct, Jeanne would not have needed to write, on March 4 or 5, asking leave to appoach the Dauphin, and the Dauphin would have known who she was and what she wanted. But, as we shall see, he knew nothing about her. M. France (i. 101, 102) adopts the view that Baudricourt wrote, and had Charles's favourable reply before February 23.

P. 80, line 9. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. clxviii, 220–225.

P. 80, line 21. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. clxix, 232, note 5.

P. 80, line 26. The hypothetical scheme of dates fits together fairly well: thus, Jeanne arrives at Little Burey about January 10, 1429. She goes to the Royers at Vaucouleurs about February 1, staying there about the three weeks mentioned by Royer. She makes her start on a walk to Chinon and returns to Vaucouleurs. She speaks with Jean de Novelonpont, and receives his promise of aid, about February 6. Goes to Nancy and St. Nicholas, and returns about February 13. Then she speaks to Baudricourt of her vision of the disaster at Rouvray on February 12. Colet de Vienne, the king's messenger, arrives with news of that defeat about February 19–20. Baudricourt has Jeanne exorcised or tested as a witch by Fournier the *curé*, because she is proved to be in the right about the defeat at Rouvray, February 12. She is found to be no witch or dealer in divination. Jeanne leaves Vaucouleurs with an escort and rides towards Chinon on February 23. Of course the story of the vision about Rouvray is given in chronicles very late, about 1467, and is far from being matter of certain history. If true, it accounts for Baudricourt's resort to the test of exorcism.

It is curious that while critical historians make Jeanne leave Vaucouleurs on February 13, and arrive at Chinon on March 6, Jean de Novelonpont appears to date her departure about the date of her return from Nancy,—tha is, about February 13,—while the clerk (Greffier) of the Hôtel de Ville of Rochelle dates her arrival at Chinon on February 23. The duration of the journey is thus ten, not eleven days (Jean de Novelonpont, *Procès*, ii. 437; Greffier de Rochelle, *Revue Historique*, iv. 336). The date of arrival at Chinon, March 6, is taken from the *Chronique de St. Michel*, following a fragment of a continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, in *Procès*, iv. 313. M. de Boismarin has argued for the dates: Vaucouleurs left on February 12–13, Chinon reached on February 23 (cf. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique de Morosini*, iii. 44, 45, note 2). The curious astrological chronograms given in *Procès*, iv. 313, seem to prove February 23–March 6 to be the correct dates.

M. Siméon Luce has a different system of dates. By his theory,

immediately after Baudricourt's first interview with Jeanne at her visit of 1429—namely, about January 15—Baudricourt would send a message to the Dauphin, asking if Jeanne might be dispatched to him. But we have seen that by mid-February Jeanne despaired of moving Baudricourt; she therefore asked for an escort from the Duc de Lorraine. The Dauphin, as will be shown, does not seem to have heard from Baudricourt concerning Jeanne till about March 9, three days after her arrival at Chinon. M. Siméon Luce supposes that Colet de Vienne, otherwise called Jean Colez, bore to Vaucouleurs a favourable answer from the Dauphin to Baudricourt's supposed letter of January 15. If so, as we do not hear of him at Vaucouleurs till February 23, he was an unconscionably long time on the way. Again, if the Dauphin actually summoned Jeanne, he later exhibited a curious aversion to receive her when she came, and an inexplicable curiosity in asking *why* she had come, and what was the nature of her business. Our hypothesis encounters none of these difficulties. M. Luce, it should be added, accepts without demur the story that Jeanne was aware of the battle at Rouvray on the day of the event (Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. ccix, ccx).

P. 80, line 31. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 437.

P. 80, line 32. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 257, 258.

P. 81, line 6. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 437, 457, i. p. 54.

P. 81, line 14. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 449.

P. 82, line 24. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 107, iii. pp. 100, 219. Percéval de Boulainvilliers says, "*Haec Puella competentis est elegantiæ*," in Izaak Walton's phrase, "is conveniently handsome" (*Procès*, v. 120).

P. 83, line 13. M. Anatole France gives a very different portrait of the Maid, as a sturdy girl with a short strong neck and ample bust. But he here quotes none of the passages which I have selected from the evidence of eye-witnesses, but mainly deals in quotations from late and sometimes purely mythical authors, who never saw Jeanne d'Arc (France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 194). I have preferred evidence at first hand.

P. 83, line 22. *Revue Historique*, vol. iv. p. 336.

P. 83, line 29. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 55.

P. 83, line 32. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 438 and 457.

P. 83, line 34. A recent historian (France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 101) has made the chivalrous suggestion that the gentlemen saw no hope of profitable warfaring at Vaucouleurs, which lay (or may have lain) in pledge to England, and hoped to better themselves on the Loire, while they mention their unwonted continence as a miracle, redounding to the credit of the saintliness of Jeanne. In the legends of the Saints, fair servants of Christ do not usually work this miracle; they are generally beset by lustful wooers, as well as by honourable suitors. Jeanne herself, as we know, had been sought in marriage. To be sure, the contemporary St. Colette is said to have frozen the passions of visitors who had been *damnabiliter inflammati*. Jeanne's male dress was assumed for security on these wild roads and midnight marches.

A piece of evidence in discord with what the two gentlemen swore to in 1456 was given, about the same time, by the widow of Regnier de Boullegny, a member of the king's council of finance. She said that she had heard Jeanne's conductors say that "at first they reckoned her mad, and thought of putting her in some strong place and meant to woo her carnally, but shame came on them, so that they obeyed her in all things, and were as eager to bring her safe to the king, as she was to go" (*Procès*, iii. 86, 87).

It is to be supposed that this lady's memory deceived her; the two gentlemen conducted Jeanne at their own expense, and, though they doubtless looked to be, and were, repaid, they clearly regarded her, from the first, in the spirit of chivalry, and with hope that she might save them from the English yoke.

P. 84, line 2. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 457.

P. 84, line 8. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 437, 438.

P. 84, line 11. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 54.

P. 84, line 16. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 199.

P. 84, line 25. *Life of St. Colette*, by Mrs. Parsons, p. 168 (1879). M. Anatole France has evolved a theory on this point: "Some French men-at-arms, apprised of Jeanne's coming, laid an ambush in front. They meant to seize the young girl, throw her into a fosse, and leave her under a great stone, hoping that the king, who had caused her coming, would pay a high ransom for her." For all this M. France quotes *Procès*, iii. 293, a passage which contains no such story. M. France means *Procès*, iii. 203, where we have the tale of ambushed men who never showed themselves. He combines with this anecdote an erroneous version of the tattle of the widow of Regnier de Boullegny (*Procès*, iii. 87), who said that Jeanne's own company declared that they began by thinking her mad, intending to place her *in quadam munitione*, and to woo her *par amours*. All the story of the ambushed men who plotted to leave Jeanne in a ditch, under a big stone, till the king ransomed her, is an attempt to combine two separate stories (France, i. 116, 117, note 2).

P. 85, line 3. *Liber Vagatorum*, pp. 8, 9 (Strasbourg, 1862).

P. 85, line 23. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 75.

P. 85, line 28. *Procès*, vol. i. pp, 75, 76.

P. 85, line 31. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 56.

P. 86, line 12. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 115, 116.

P. 86, line 18. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 102. An Englishman named Lawrence told Pancrazio Giustiniani, who wrote from Bruges on May 10 (more probably about May 18), that "many wished to mock her, but surely an ill death have they died." This may refer to Pasquerel's story, and to the mockers drowned at the Tourelles on May 7 (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, iii. 51).

P. 86, line 23. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 102, 103.

P. 86, line 25. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 75.

P. 86, line 35. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 17.

P. 87, line 2. Simon Charles, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 116.

P. 87, line 15. *Revue Historique*, vol. iv. p. 337.

P. 87, line 24. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 426; clerk of Brabant quoting a letter of April 22, 1429.
P. 87, line 29. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 103.
P. 88, line 5. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 133; *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 98, 99.
P. 88, line 21. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, pp. 65, 66, quoting Basin, *History of Charles VII*, lib. ii. c. x.
P. 88, line 24. } *Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 128; *Chronique de la Pucelle*,
P. 89, ll. 1–3. } *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 209.
P. 89, line 6. *Mystère du Siège d'Orléans*, pp. 265, 392.
P. 89, line 29. Sala, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 279–281.
P. 89, line 35. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, pp. 63, 66; *Procès*, vol. i. p. 120.
P. 90, line 10. Vallet de Viriville, *Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 50, note 2.
P. 90, line 14. France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. pp. 198–199.
P. 90, line 31. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 17.
P. 90, line 35. *Louis de Coutes*, by Amicie de Foulques de Villaret.
P. 91, line 3. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 65, 66.
P. 91, line 10. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 99.
P. 91, line 15. Windecke (Lefèvre-Pontalis), p. 109; *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 54, 55.
P. 94, line 6. The details of Rouvray are from the *Journal du Siège*. For what follows see *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 21.
P. 94, line 11. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 339, 340; (cf. *Book of Pluscarden*, vol. i. p. 365).
P. 94, line 14. *Journal du Siège d'Orléans*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 127.
P. 94, line 17. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 17–23; *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 130, 131.
P. 94, line 36. Monstrelet, ch. lviii. vol. v. p. 125.
P. 95, line 27. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), p. 234.
P. 96, line 8. *Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 146, 147, 150.
P. 96, line 26. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. x. pp. 413, 414 (Edition 1710).
P. 97, line 18. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 91, 92.
P. 97, line 25. Eberhart Windecke in *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 486, 487; *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 95, 104, 105.
P. 97, line 28. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 212.
P. 98, line 20. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 96.
P. 99, line 16. Graham Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 473–474.
P. 100, line 4. *Procès*, *Chronique de la Pucelle*, vol. iv. p. 209.
P. 100, line 23. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 82. "When the examiners were announced Jeanne was in cruel disquietude. St. Catherine took the trouble to reassure her" (France, vol. i. p. 222). For these two facts M. France quotes *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 82. The passage mentions neither disquietude nor St. Catherine. The Saints are never named by any witness.
P. 100, line 26. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 83.
P. 101, line 34. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 203–206. For the two Séguins, cf. Dunand, *La Légende anglaise de Jeanne*, pp. 118–123.
P. 102, line 1. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 75.
P. 102, line 14. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 83, 84.
P. 102, line 16. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 75.
P. 102, line 18. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 20.
P. 102, line 23. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 92.

P. 102, line 26. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 86.

P. 103, line 10. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 209, 210; D'Aulon.

P. 103, line 12. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 82; Barbin.

P. 103, line 14. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 246. Here it is asserted as an acquired fact that the emissaries *avaient été choisis parmi ces moines mendiants*. We only know that Jean Barbin "heard say that people had been sent to Jeanne's native place" (*Procès*, iii. 82). M. Siméon Luce may have misled M. France. He quotes (*Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, p. cxliii, note 1), *Procès*, ii. 397, thus—I follow his typography: "Beatrix, widow of Estellin, labourer, of Domremy said that she heard say that MINOR FRIARS *were in the said town* (Domremy) *to gather information* a was said." M. Luce, always hot on the scent of mendicant friars, did not notice that Beatrix was speaking, not of April 1429, but of 1430–1431. The Friars were sent, if at all, by Jeanne's hostile Judges at Rouen! Beatrix was asked (*Procès*, ii. 385, Article xi) as to the information sought at Domremy *by the authority of the Judges when Jeanne was taken and was in English hands*.

P. 103, line 24. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 74.

P. 103, line 27. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 20, 83, 203–204.

P. 103, line 35. The Judges of 1450–1456 say that they have heard evidence as to the examination of Poitiers. They say nothing about the existence of documentary evidence, of a Register, and only one examiner, Séguin, was heard (*Procès*, vol. v. p. 472). Several others were alive, but were not called, or did not appear. If there was a Book of Poitiers, for some reason it was not even named in 1450–1456. M. Siméon Luce thinks that it was destroyed about 1443, because it probably contained evidence of the treason of the Comte de Vaudemont, and others, whom the king had pardoned (Siméon Luce, 274, note 1).

P. 104, line 10. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 71.

P. 105, line 3. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 391, 392.

P. 105, line 28. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, p. cxxi.

P. 106, line 15. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 208, 209.

P. 107, line 12. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 258.

P. 108, line 12. The details are from a fifteenth-century miniature of Jeanne, in *La Vierge Guerrière*, by Father Ayroles (1898). The portrait of the face may be imaginary, but we can trust the artist for the armour.

P. 108, line 33. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 76.

P. 109, line 6. *Revue Historique*, vol. iv. pp. 337, 338; *Chronique de Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 108–110.

P. 109, line 10. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 426.

P. 110, line 7. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. cclxxxviii–cccx.

P. 110, line 17. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, p. cccii.

P. 110, line 20. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. ccciv, cccv.

P. 110, line 22. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, p. 270.

P. 110, line 30. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 15, 210.

P. 111, line 7. France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 294, ii. 135.

P. 111, line 10. For the dire poverty of d'Aulon M. France cites Dunois, *Procès*, iii. 15. Dunois says not one word about d'Aulon's poverty.

For the fact that "d'Aulon belonged wholly to La Trémoïlle, was in the hands of La Trémoïlle, and owed him money," he cites *Les La Trémoïlle pendant cinq siècle, Guy VI et Georges* (1343–1446, Nantes, 1890, pp. 196, 201); and Beaucourt, *Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 293, note 3. The latter quotation is identical in sense with *Les La Trémoïlle*, vol. i. p. 196. It is a document in which (March 16, 1431–1432) d'Aulon acknowledges having borrowed, for two months, 500 gold crowns from La Trémoïlle. The fact was that d'Aulon, captured by the Burgundians on May 23, 1430, had to pay a crushing ransom, and so borrowed 500 gold crowns. On April 13, 1433 (*Les La Trémoïlle*, vol. i. pp. 200–201), Pothon de Bourguignon, d'Aulon's brother, captured with him on May 23, 1430, also borrows money from La Trémoïlle, his bill being apparently backed by Jean d'Aulon, Thibault de Termes (who fought at Orleans, and was a witness in 1450–1456), and Arnault de Bourguignon, who appear to have been joint borrowers of 2750 gold crowns. These debts were incurred after the two d'Aulon brothers were impoverished by their heavy ransoms, and neither prove that Jean d'Aulon was "the most destitute squire in the kingdom," nor that he "belonged absolutely to La Trémoïlle," nor that, in the lifetime of the Maid, he owed money to La Trémoïlle. All that, as far as the evidence shows, is part of the legend evolved by M. France.

P. 111, line 12. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 258.

P. 111, line 21. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 117.

P. 111, line 25. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 181.

P. 111, line 27. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 301. Dunois says that Our Lord was painted with a lily in His hand; Pasquerel, that each angel offered Him a lily. The Maid is certain to be right (*Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 7, 103).

P. 111, line 29. *Revue Historique*, vol. iv. p. 338.

P. 112, line 11. The force escorted no more than 60 waggons of provisions and 400 head of cattle. Jeanne is reported to have told her Judges that the force was of from 10,000 to 12,000 men. This number is given in a contemporary Italian letter, while Monstrelet speaks of 7000 men. These are impossible figures: the army in a very few days would have eaten up the supplies which they introduced.

A German chronicler, using a dispatch of the period, states the numbers at 3000 men, and so does the *Chronique de Tournai*, obviously using the same dispatch, and giving the convoy at 60 waggons and 435 head of cattle. Now Chartier and the *Chronique de la Pucelle* represent the army which came back (May 4) from Blois as less by three times than the army which originally marched from Blois. Can they mean "less by a third"? On April 29, "200 lances" (from 800 to 1000 men) entered Orleans, when the rest retired to Blois. Deducting this 1000 from an original host of 4000, we get 3000, as in Windecke and the *Chronique de Tournai*, resting on an official newsletter, for the army of Blois. Under Clermont, on February 12, that army had numbered between 3000 and 4000 men. It is unlikely that the force with Jeanne was greater: a larger body could not be subsisted in Orleans, and

would have soon, with the population, say 25,000, and the garrison, have eaten up the supplies. With even 3000 fresh combatants, the army of Jeanne, the town militia, and the garrison, outnumbered the besiegers. (Jeanne's evidence, *Procès*, i. 78; Beaucroix, *Procès*, iii. 78; Monstrelet, ch. lix; Windecke, *Procès*, iv. 491; *Chronique de Tournai*, J. J. Smet, vol. iii. p. 409; *Recueil des Chroniques de Flandre*, Chartier, *Procès*, iv. 56; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, iv. 222; Morosini, iii. p. 25, note 2).

P. 112, line 19. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 5, 7, 8.

P. 112, line 32. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 4.

P. 113, line 4. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. pp. 170–171.

P. 113, line 10. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 633; *Les La Trémoïlle*, vol. i. pp. 176, 182; Debts of the Dauphin to La Trémoïlle.

P. 113, line 15. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 93.

P. 113, line 22. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 104.

P. 115, line 4. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 5, 6. For the facts, see Boucher de Molandon, *La Première Expédition de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 40–46; *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 289–290, vol. iii. p. 78; Beaucroix.

P. 115, line 21. France, vol. i. pp. 305, 306; citing Chartier, vol. i. p. 68; *Journal du Siège*, p. 48 (in *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 53, and pp. 127–129).

P. 116, line 22. On the river side, nearly opposite the eastern water gate, or *Tour Neuve* of Orleans, there was an English fort called St. Jean le Blanc, intended to command the ferry. This fort, in the Life of Jeanne by M. France, is apt to cause more trouble to the reader than it ever gave to the French army. M. France says (i. 306) that as Jeanne, on April 28, could not summon Talbot (who was at St. Laurent on the opposite side of the river), "she wished to show herself in front of the outpost (*guet*) of St. Jean le Blanc." His authorities are Beaucroix, *Procès*, iii. p. 78, and d'Aulon, iii. p. 214. In the former passage it is said that Jeanne (at what moment is not stated) was desirous that the whole force "should go straight to St. Jean le Blanc, which they did not do." The second passage cited (iii. 214) has no concern with the events of *April 28*, as M. France imagines, but contains d'Aulon's account of the French advance against St. Jean le Blanc on the morning of *May 6*. They then found that the English had just evacuated the fort, when they saw the French movements on the river. Thus the English evacuated St. Jean on the morning of May 6, not on April 28.

M. France (i. 306) says that had Jeanne tried to show herself before St. Jean on April 28, she would have found no English there. On April 29, M. France (i. 311, 312) says that St. Jean le Blanc was still empty of its defenders. His authorities are Jean Chartier (*Procès*, iv. 54), who says that the English had evacuated St. Jean, and retired into their fortress on the site of the Augustinian monastery; and the *Chronique de la Pucelle* (*Procès*, iv. 217). The second author merely quotes the former, and both appear to be in error, and to assign to April 28 an event of May 6. M. France (i. 341) represents St. Jean as still empty of defenders on

May 5. He writes (i. 347), speaking of May 6, that the first of the French who landed on the opposite bank of the Loire "entered the abandoned fort of St. Jean le Blanc, and amused themselves by destroying it, while awaiting reinforcements." Here the authority cited is the *Chronique de la Pucelle*, but in that chronicle we read that, on May 6, the French crossed the Loire in force, under the eyes of Glasdale (of the English bridge-head fort, the Tourelles), "who immediately caused the fort of St. Jean le Blanc to be evacuated and burned, and withdrew his men into the Augustins, the Tourelles, and the outwork or boulevard of the Tourelles" (*Procès*, iv. 225, 226). This agrees with the account of d'Aulon, who was present. The English, he says, evacuated St. Jean le Blanc when they saw the French preparations to attack it, on May 6, and withdrew into the Augustins (*Procès*, iii. 213, 214). Chartier appears to have made the same evacuation of St. Jean le Blanc occur twice, on April 28 and May 6. So does the *Chronique de la Pucelle*, manifestly copying Chartier; but it does not say that the French, on May 6, "amused themselves by destroying" a fort which Glasdale, it avers, had already burned!

P. 116, line 26. Beaucroix, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 78.

P. 116, line 33. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 6, 7.

P. 117, line 1. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 78.

P. 117, line 4. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 290.

P. 117, line 8. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 149.

P. 117, line 17. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 151, note 1.

P. 117, line 28. Hay Fleming, *Saints of the Covenant*, vol. i. pp. 37–38, vol. ii. p. 127.

P. 118, line 4. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 342–346.

P. 118, line 20. *Journal du Siège*; *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 153.

P. 118, line 26. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 260.

P. 119, line 2. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 34.

P. 120, line 14. So Jean Chartier writes in *Procès*, iv. 54. He was Historiographer Royal to Charles VII (in 1449), but he is very frank about the futility of the king's advisers, who by 1449 were mostly dead or out of office.

P. 120, line 20. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 7.

P. 120, line 24. This affair of the summons and the heralds is recorded in a most confusing way. M. Anatole France (vol. i. pp. 284, 305) adopts the view that the Maid had sent on from Blois, (about April 26?) a herald, with her famous letter of summons dated March 22, 1429. The English, says M. France, had detained this herald, and made no reply. One authority, the *Chronique de la Pucelle* (*Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 215–217), says that Jeanne wrote from Blois, and sent her letter to Talbot by a herald. But, as the letter here given is dated March 22, she could not have written it at Blois: she was at Poitiers on March 22. *Le Journal de Siège*, making an error of six weeks, says that on March 22, Jeanne sent a herald with her letter *from Blois*. The English read the letter, threatened to burn the Maid, and detained the herald (*Procès*, iv. pp. 139–141).

These are obvious errors. The authors derive the date of the dispatch of the herald from the date of the writing of the letter (March

22), M. France (i. p. 321) adopts these errors, and makes Jeanne, on April 30, send her herald Ambleville to recover the herald Guienne, sent from Blois. For this M. France cites *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 26, 27, evidence of Jacques l'Esbahy, a citizen of Orleans. Jacques depones to none of this. He says that *two* heralds were sent, Ambleville and Guienne, to the English, who sent back Ambleville and kept Guienne, declaring that they would burn him. The *Chronique de a Pucelle* makes the English send back only one of the two heralds, who is reported, erroneously, to have returned to the English, and brought back his companion in safety (*Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 220, 221). *Le Journal du Siège* says that on April 30 the Maid sent *two* heralds, and asked for the return of the herald whom she had dispatched from Blois, making three heralds in all! *The three heralds* were then restored to her by the English (*Procès*, iv. 154).

All this appears to be perfectly inaccurate. No herald was sent from Blois. Two, Ambleville and Guienne, were sent out of Orleans on April 30. The English returned Ambleville; Guienne they kept, meaning to burn him.

Being aware that to burn a herald was a strong measure, they sent to ask the advice of the furiously Anglo-Burgundian University doctors of the University of Paris. But Jeanne's rapidity in war drove the English from Orleans before the answer of the University could arrive, and the retreating English left the herald Guienne, and the stake at which they meant to burn him, in their deserted camp. This we learn from a herald, Jacques le Bouvier, King-at-arms of Berri (*Procès*, vol. iv. p. 42).

P. 121, line 15. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 240–241. This follows the text used by the Judges, which is the best.

P. 121, line 21. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 27.

P. 121, line 28. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 42.

P. 122, line 2. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 154.

P. 122, line 7. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 155.

P. 122, line 8. Citing these passages, and Jean Chartier, M. Anatole France tells the story of April 30 thus (France, vol. i. pp. 316–318): "On the morrow of the Maid's arrival, (April 30), the Orleans militia was astir from daybreak. Since the previous evening the city was turned upside down. The revolt, long suppressed, had begun. . . . There was no question of the king's Lieutenant, of Governor, of Lords, of Captains; there was only one power, one force, the Maid. The Maid was chief of the Commune. This girl, this shepherdess, this *béguine*, whom the nobles had led to bring them luck, did them the greatest possible mischief: she annihilated them. From the dawn of April 30 the nobles could see that the *bourgeois* revolution was accomplished. The town's forces waited for the Maid to head them and lead them instantly against the "God-damns" (*Godons*). The captains tried to make them see that they must await the army of Blois and the force of the Maréchal de Boussac, which had started under cloud of night to join hands with it. The armed *bourgeoisie* would listen to nothing, and yelled for

the Maid. She did not show herself; Dunois, with his golden tongue, had advised her not to show herself" (*Procès*, iii. 211; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 287. This is a wrong reference, p. 287 refers to events in August 1429. The reference should be to pp. 250, 251, corresponding to *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 221, 222. The passage does not contain what M. France finds in it. The references offered by M. France to these *Chroniques* are sometimes curiously erroneous: wrong pages are given, and the right pages fail to support his statements).

Jeanne's page, whose memory was very inaccurate, says that Jeanne was angry because Dunois would not attack on April 30. He then betrays his own inaccuracy most amazingly (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 68).

We next hear from M. France of the attack on the English at their fort, Paris: "The Maid had known nothing about it." No authority, as far as I can find, though authorities are duly cited by M. France, says a word, in this place, of "a *bourgeois* revolution"; of the Maid as "captain of the Commune"; of yells for the Maid; of her withdrawal, by desire of Dunois; in short, of the whole story as given by M. France.

Dunois says that she was scarcely willing to wait, and allow him to go to Blois: "She wanted to summon the English to raise the siege, or to attack them." She did send her letter to them, which demoralised them (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 7).

P. 122, line 16. B. de Molandon, *La Première Expédition de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 106; *Pièces Justificatives B.*

P. 122, line 19. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 211.

P. 122, line 21. It is conceivable that d'Aulon's account of Jeanne's demonstration to cover the exit of Dunois is identical with the *Journal's* attack on the fort called Paris, dated April 30, but *Le Journal du Siège* says nothing about Jeanne's part in that affair, and it makes Dunois leave for Blois on May 1, giving nothing about a demonstration of force to cover his exit.

P. 122, line 28. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 155.

P. 122, line 30. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 156.

P. 122, line 31. The story told in the chronicle of the Festival of May 8, about the Maid reassuring one Jean de Mascon, is undated (*Procès*, vol. v. p. 291). It may probably have been an event of May 3. There is a tale that Jeanne told d'Aulon not to fear about the Maréchal de Boussac, who was at Blois; he would return safe from Blois. This was "a little while before he came." As d'Aulon was not *then* with Jeanne but with the Maréchal at Blois, the story can only be true if the words were spoken before d'Aulon left Orleans, on May 1 (*Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 78, 79).

P. 122, line 32. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 222.

P. 123, line 1. *Notonniers* were paid for bringing grain by boat from Blois on May 4 (Boucher de Molandon, *Première Expédition de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 58, 59). Apparently the army from Blois led the cattle past the English forts (*Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 156, 222), while the grain was brought by water, and was boated over some way above the town at the ferry commanded by the English fort of St. Loup.

P. 123, line 3. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 211, vol. iv. pp. 156, 222.

P. 123, line 14. France, vol. i. p. 329.

P. 123, line 21. The opposite opinion is maintained by M. Boucher de Molandon (*Première Expedition de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 11, 79).

P. 123, line 32. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 212; D'Aulon.

P. 124, line 5. According to the *Chronique de la Pucelle*, the victuals (*vivres*), the cattle, probably, came with the army from Blois on the Orleans side of the river (*Procès*, vol. iv. p. 222).

P. 124, line 19. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 212.

P. 124, line 23. De Coutes, who is wrong as to the date, making it April 30, says that Jeanne was then unarmed, but, while he brought her horse, was armed by her hostess and her little daughter (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 68). D'Aulon must be right.

P. 124, line 28. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 124, iv. p. 223.

P. 124, line 34. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 213.

P. 125, line 4. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 69 (de Coutes).

P. 125, line 6. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 213.

P. 125, line 14. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 157, 224.

P. 125, line 16. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 106. With the best will in the world, I cannot find any eye-witness reporting that "through the Maid what had been a diversion became an attack driven home" (France, vol. i. p. 336). It may be that the arrival of the Maid "turned a vain skirmish into an attack driven home, and gave victory by giving confidence" (France, vol. i. p. 339). But no eye-witness seems to put the case in this light. At all events, the French, now greatly reinforced, had for the first time taken an English work, one which kept open the communications with the English garrison of Jargeau, and was meant to cut the French communications with the opposite bank of the river, in which it was always unsuccessful. We nowhere read that a convoy of cattle was brought across during the attack on St. Loup, but grain did come by water. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis believes that the second convoy from Blois came by the Orleans or Beauce side of the river (*Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 28, 115).

P. 125, line 23. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 107. The *Chronique de la Pucelle* says the reverse; Jeanne wanted to fight, but the leaders respected the holiness of the day (*Procès*, vol. iv. p. 224).

P. 125, line 27. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 225.

P. 126, line 5. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 108. This scene of May 5 is dated by M. France (vol. i. p. 322) on April 30 (also with other details on May 5), but Pasquerel was present at the scene, and on April 30 he was not in Orleans, though M. France cites his evidence (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 108) for April 30. The *Chronique de la Pucelle*, here following *Gestes des Nobles Françoys*, a manuscript of 1429 or 1430, dates the scene on May 5 (*Procès*, vol. iv. p. 225). *Le Journal du Siège* dates it (followed by M. France) on April 30 (*Procès*, vol. i. p. 155). The details about the arrow and the "news from her Lord," and the letter for the date May 5, as given by her confessor, who states that he was present, are circumstantial, and I do not think that he had an illusion of memory, especially as he is supported by the

contemporary *Gestes des Nobles Françoys*. After giving Pasquerel's version, and dating it on April 30 (France, vol. i. p. 322), M. France *gives it again*, with more details, on the day of the Ascension (vol. i. pp. 343, 344); again from the evidence of Pasquerel (*Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 107, 108). Yet M. France is specially severe on the faults of Pasquerel as a witness (France, vol. i. p. xxii).

P. 126, line 8. Jean Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 57–59.

P. 126, line 31. Our authority here is Jean Chartier, writing twenty years later (*Procès*, iv. 57, 58). It will be observed that the tale is very circumstantial; all names, and the parts played by de Loré, Cousinot, the Chancellor, and Dunois being given, though Chartier errs in saying that Fastolf was at St. Laurent. *Le Journal du Siège* (*Procès*, vol. iv. p. 158) says that some burgesses were present at the Council. It does not say that Jeanne was called to the Council, nor mention the intended feint, nor does the *Chronique de la Pucelle*, attributed to Cousinot himself, or his nephew or son. Here it follows *Gestes des Nobles Françoys* (1429). M. France avers that the burgesses were to make the feint, with Jeanne, while the nobles with their levies were to make the real attack, on the forts across the river. Jeanne was captain of the town militia, who were not to know the secret (France, vol. i. pp. 340–343). But the burgesses were present, in council, according to *Le Journal du Siège* M. France thinks Chartier's version "very doubtful." Chartier certainly shows great vagueness later, but he seems to have obtained this part of his narrative from an eye-witness.

P. 127, line 26. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 116, 117; Simon Charles.

P. 128, line 35. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 226; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, here following *Gestes Nobles*.

P. 129, line 30. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 214, 215

P. 129, line 33. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 79.

P. 130, line 2. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 214.

P. 130, line 9. The evidence is contradictory. D'Aulon and Simon Beaucroix (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 79) say that she was unwilling to leave the taken fort where many tarried, and were supplied with food from the city. However, they may mean that she did return to Orleans, though reluctantly. Percéval de Cagny, dictating about 1436, agrees with d'Aulon. "The Maid said to those about her, "By my baton I will take the Tournelles to-morrow, and return to the town by the bridge," which was broken (*Procès*, vol. iv. p. 8). But Percéval was not present, and till his chief, d'Alençon, comes on the scene of war, is not a good witness. Jeanne's page, de Coutes (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 70), her confessor, Pasquerel (vol. iii. p. 108), and the (*Chronique de la Pucelle*, *Procès*, iv. p. 227), which is here contemporary, maintain, with many details, that she returned to Boucher's house in Orleans. I follow their versions, but probably de Cagny, in 1436, got his version from d'Aulon.

P. 130, line 11. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 227; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, here contemporary.

P. 130, line 21. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 109.

P. 130, line 23. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 426.

P. 130, line 29. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 121.

P. 130, line 32. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 127 (evidence of Viole).

P. 131, line 21. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 78 (Jeanne); *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 25; Monstrelet, bk. ii. ch. lix.; Windecke, in *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 491; *Chronique de Tournai* (de Smet, *Recueil des Chronique de Flandre*, vol. iii. p. 409; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 222). The *Chronique de Tournai* is clearly based on the same contemporary dispatch as Windecke used. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis suggests that the dispatch had xiii. *mil*, 13,000, but the x dropped out (Windecke, p. 77).

P. 132, line 2. Molandon and Beaucorps, *L'Armée Anglaise Vaincue par Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 134–143.

P. 132, line 29. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 227.

P. 134, line 10. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 98, 99.

P. 134, line 12. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 109; Pasquerel.

P. 134, line 15. The *Chronique de la Pucelle* says that, at dawn of May 7, the Maid, with the accordance and consent of the townsfolk, but contrary to the will and opinion of all the King's chiefs and captains, left with all her force (*à tout son effort*), and crossed the Loire" (*Procès*, iv. 227). The *Chronique de la fête de Mai 8*, a late authority, says that the burgesses held a meeting and begged the Maid to fulfil her mission: she said, "In God's name I will do that, *et qui m'aymera si me suyve*, and the nobles followed with her" (*Procès*, vol. v. p. 293). Her page, de Coutes, says that several Lords did not wish to assault the Tourelles, but Jeanne opened the Burgundy gate, and crossed the river. De Coutes is confusing the events of May 6 with those of May 7, as is his manner, (*Procès*, iii. p. 70). Pasquerel says that, on the night of May 6, the nobles sent a notable knight to Jeanne, announcing their intention not to fight next day. She said, "You have been in your council, and I in mine," but here Pasquerel possibly blunders, for he represents the Lords as still expecting succour from the King (*Procès*, iii. 108, 109).

On the other hand, M. Lefèvre-Pontalis maintains that on May 7 the lords and leaders closed the Burgundy gate, and strove to prevent the Maid from attacking the Tourelles. She forced the gate, and Gaucourt was in great danger from the angry crowd. If this view be correct, the Maid was not only the sole cause of the capture of the Tourelles, but she saved the French force, which had passed the night at Les Augustins, and should have been cut up by Talbot (cf. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Les Sources Allemandes* (Windecke), pp. 105, 106, and Wallon, *Jeanne d'Arc* (1901), vol. i. pp. 160–163).

P. 134, line 19. In 1436, Percéval de Cagny gives Jeanne's prediction, "I will return by the bridge" (*Procès*, vol. iv. p. 8), but he avers that she said so at the Augustins, where she bivouacked. As to the fish, on May 3, not May 7, one Raoulet de Recourt was paid twenty *sols* "for an *alose* presented to the Maid" (*Procès*, vol. v. p. 259). This record in the town accounts of Orleans tends to suggest that Colette, who spoke of the gift of the fish as an incident of May 7, confused the dates of the presentation of the fish (*Procès*,

vol. iii. pp. 124, 125). Of course such an incident may have occurred twice. As for the prophecy about the bridge, Jeanne probably made it, but it was merely an assertion of confidence: she must have known by May 7 that an attempt to bridge the gap would be made.

P. 134, line 23. The evidence for this, though it occurs in the *Chronique de la Pucelle* (*Procès*, vol. iv. p. 228), is early. The passage is borrowed from *Gestes des Nobles Françoys*, a manuscript of about 1430. However, by another account, the preparations were hastily improvised. See too *Chronique de la Fête de Mai 8*, for the hard work of making the improvised bridge (*Procès*, vol. v. p. 293).

P. 134, line 27. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 43, 44.

P. 134, line 35. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 101–104.

P. 135, line 9. One of them is so depicted on an ancient wood carving, photographed by the Marquis d'Éguilles.

P. 135, line 18. Molandon and Beaucorps, *L'Armée Anglaise Vaincue par Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 232–242.

P. 135, line 21. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 97.

P. 135, line 27. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 216 (D'Aulon).

P. 136, line 2. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 160.

P. 136, line 8. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 70.

P. 136, line 17. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 8.

P. 136, line 19. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 110. So too her page, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 70.

P. 136, line 32. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 9; Percéval de Cagny.

P. 136, line 34. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 8; Dunois.

P. 137, line 13. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 216.

P. 138, line 9. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 217.

P. 138, line 15. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 228, 229.

P. 138, line 34. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 110.

P. 139, line 8. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 162, note.

P. 139, line 25. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 161, 229.

P. 139, line 33. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 110.

P. 139, line 35. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 162.

P. 140, line 6. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 217.

P. 141, line 14. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 163.

P. 141, line 17. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 297.

P. 141, line 23. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 366; citing *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 295 (properly p. 259, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 232); *Journal du Siège*, p. 88 (*Procès*, vol. iv. p. 163). I can find no such matter in these sources, and M. France does not quote the two Bishops seen by the Englishman, in *Chronique de la Fête de Mai 8*, *Procès*, vol. v. p. 297.

P. 142, line 2. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 9.

P. 142, line 4. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 79, iii. pp. 8, 109, iv. pp. 61, 160, 231, 494.

P. 142, line 10. Dr. Dumas, in France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 460.

P. 142, line 14. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 9.

P. 142, line 17. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 231. The accounts of the town give the wages of the men who brought the guns and so forth into Orleans by water.

P. 142, line 22. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 164.

P. 143, line 2. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 29, 30 (Champeaux); *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 164—no

mention of Mass; *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 232, as in *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 29, 30.

P. 143, line 4. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 9.

P. 143, line 18. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 233.

P. 143, line 24. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 233.

P. 144, line 6. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 165, 233, 234.

P. 144, line 16. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 103.

P. 144, line 25. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 372 (cf. vol. i. pp. 316, 317, 335, 336, 339, 368).

P. 145, line 7. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 167; *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 36, 37; and notes of M. Lefèvre-Pontalis.

P. 145, line 9. *Le Jouvencel*, vol. ii. p. 67.

P. 145, line 19. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 37–39.

P. 145, line 35. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iv. pp. 316, 327.

P. 146, line 9. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 497.

P. 146, line 27. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 298–306.

P. 147, line 5. Gélu, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 408, 409.

P. 147, line 17. Gélu, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 409, 410.

P. 147, line 32. *Nouveau Témoignage*, etc., Boucher de Molandon, following Monsieur Leopold de Lisle, the discoverer of the note. Orleans, 1886.

P. 148, line 13. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii pp. 61–63.

P. 148, line 15. Beaucroix, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 80.

P. 148, line 18. Dunois, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 11, 12.

P. 149, line 17. M. Anatole France, who avers that "I have raised no doubts as to the sincerity of Jeanne. She cannot be suspected of falsehood . . ." (France, i. pp. xxxviii, xxxix), says, "These eyes swimming in tears, this ravished air, so marvellous in the eyes of the Bastard, were no ecstasy, they were a feigned ecstasy. The scene was full of trickery and innocence . . ." (France, vol. i. pp. 391, 392.) The honest truthful girl was, it seems, fraudulent! The accusation is erroneous. Jeanne was answering a question, she blushed, was moved, and was in full consciousness of her surroundings. In ecstasy, the subject is, or, if fraudulent, feigns to be, wholly unconscious of all outward things. Also vol. i. p. xxiii, where the idea seems to be that Dunois erred or was misreported as to this incident. The anecdote of Dunois "would leave us to suppose that this young peasant girl was a clever impostor; had given to the Lords, when requested, the spectacle of an ecstasy, like the Esther of the regretted Du Luys."

P. 149, line 27. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 1 and pp. 10, 11. De Cagny, however, is not well informed as to the Maid before d'Alençon joined her in arms. He says, in any case, that at Chinon, in March 1429, she announced that she must release the Duc d'Orléans from captivity, even if she went to seek him in England. At her Trial she declared that she "had many revelations" about him. Asked *how* she would have released him, she said by exchange for English prisoners, or, if that failed, by invading England (Jeanne, in *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 55, 133, 134, 254). The Saints told her absolutely "that she should succeed in this enterprise within three years." She added, "If I had lasted for three years, without impediment, I would have

set him free. But I had a shorter term than three years, and rather longer than a year," but "about this, at the moment, I do not well remember."

All this is confusing, for d'Alençon sometimes heard her tell the king, "I will last but one year or little more" (*Procès*, iii. 99). This prediction seems to have been known, as we saw, to an Italian newswriter as early as June 1429, and it is impossible to tell how Jeanne reconciled the span of three years in which she was to deliver the Duc d'Orléans with that of little more than a year which she knew was assigned to her. In any case, she made no attempt at her Trial to quibble or conceal the facts. We have not all the interrogatories, and the texts of the answers vary.

P. 150, line 12. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 12, 13.
P. 150, line 27. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 105–111.
P. 151, line 17. France, vol. i. p. 405; *Procès*, vol. v. p. 108 (Laval).
P. 152, line 4. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 404.
P. 152, line 9. *Le Journal du Siège*; *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 169, 170.
P. 152, line 13. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 64.
P. 152, line 18. *Le Journal du Siège*; *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 170.
P. 153, line 30. France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 73.
P. 153, line 34. *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 57.
P. 154, line 17. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 119, 120.
P. 154, line 22. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 100.
P. 154, line 25. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 13.
P. 154, line 33. Quoted from M. Joseph Fabre, *Le Mois de Jeanne d'Arc*, Preface, p. 14 *et seq.*, by Dunand in *Histoire Complète de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 340.
P. 154, line 34. *Les Étapes de Jeanne d'Arc* in *Revue des deux Mondes*, March 1, 1848, pp. 151–178.
P. 155, line 4. France, vol. ii. p. 168.
P. 155, line 6. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 435.
P. 155, line 18. I desire to express, once for all, my appreciation of a grudging and perfectly illogical criticism of Jeanne d'Arc in war. It is almost incredible that any man could aver, first that the Maid "was the chief because she was the best"; that she understood war so well as "to fear that the chivalry of France would not fight a battle in *her* fashion"; that the King's advisers "neither believed in nor desired an end of the war: they meant to make war at the least possible risk and expense,"—and then to maintain that the Maid understood nothing about war; that she was used merely as an advertisement and luck-bringer; that her advice was never listened to; that it did not cause the march to Reims, thereby "greatly serving the Archbishop"; also that she *was* listened to, that she *did* cause the march to Reims, and that this step was fatal! See Anatole France, vol. i. pp. xlix, 73, 451–454, 536, ii. 187.

Meanwhile, I have not found any criticism, in detail, of the Maid's military qualities, by professed military writers who are also close students of the Art of War as practised in the fifteenth century. In this respect the *Jeanne d'Arc Guerrière* of General Frédéric

Canonge (Paris, 1907) is somewhat disappointing. For example, he states the force of Talbot and Suffolk after the fall of the Tourelles at from 7000 to 8000 men (p. 27), whereas the closest analysis of documents does not enable us to put it above 3500. Capitaine Marin, too, attributes to Jeanne the strategy of the Oise campaign of 1430, whereas the Maid says herself that in most things she *then* merely took the advice of "the captains," of such experienced leaders as Saintrailles.

P. 156, line 10. *Le Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 170.

P. 156, line 16. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 262; Town Accounts.

P. 157, line 4. D'Alençon, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 94.

P. 157, line 8. D'Alençon, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 95.

P. 157, line 22. *Le Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 171.

P. 157, line 33. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

P. 157, line 35. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 12.

P. 158, line 16. D'Alençon, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 96.

P. 158, line 28. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 97.

P. 158, line 29. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 45, 65, 173, 238. According to four chroniclers, Suffolk yielded to an esquire named Guillaume Regnault, first dubbing him a knight. These four witnesses are only one witness, each copying his predecessor. A contemporary, the town clerk of La Rochelle, says that Suffolk refused to surrender except to the Maid, "the bravest woman in the world, who must bring us all to confusion." Quicherat accepted this version, supposing that Suffolk's brother, John de la Pole, surrendered to Regnault. The ransom of Suffolk would have been a great prize to the Maid, who hoped, by collecting ransoms for prisoners, to release the Duc d'Orleans from English captivity (*Rev. Historique*, vol. iv. pp. 332, 333). The earliest authority among the chroniclers for the surrender to Regnault is the Berry King of Arms, a herald; and, as he wrote long after the events, we must judge between his evidence and the contemporary testimony of the town clerk of La Rochelle. Considering the English fear, contempt, and hatred of the Maid, we might expect her to be the last person to whom Suffolk would yield himself prisoner.

P. 158, line 34. *Le Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 173. M. France says that the quarrel which led to the slaughter of the prisoners was a dispute between the nobles and the common people. There is not a word to that effect in his only authority, *Journal du Siège*, as printed in *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 173 (France, vol. i. p. 415).

P. 159, line 7. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 112, 114.

P. 159, line 10. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 168, 169.

P. 159, line 15. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 13.

P. 159, line 18. *Le Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 174; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 240.

P. 159, line 26. *Le Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 174, 175.

P. 159, line 34. *Le Connétable de Richemont*, Cosneau, p. 163.

P. 160, line 12. *Collection des Mémoires*, vol. viii. p. 406. Paris, 1819.

P. 160, line 14. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 315.

P. 161, line 13. Gruel, in *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 316–318; Wavrin, accepted by M.

Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 420; Morosini, vol. iii. p. 71, note 2.

P. 162, line 2. D'Alençon, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 98.

P. 163, line 13. D'Alençon, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 98.

P. 163, line 23. The evidence here is rather confused, and it is uncertain whether or not the Maid cried for a charge. That is the opinion of M. France (France, vol. i. pp. 431–433), but the evidence of Dunois (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 11) and of de Termes (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 120) is perhaps adverse to his theory, and both men were present. M. France thinks that they are really speaking of June 17, and that seems the more probable occasion, but de Termes expressly speaks of the day of Pathay (June 18) and Dunois says that the English had heard of the surrender of Beaugency. Now they did not receive the news till June 18, (Wavrin, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 417, 418). However, Dunois may not have been aware that on June 17 the English believed that Beaugency was holding out. In any case, June 17 is not Sunday, August 19, as M. France maintains (France, i. 431). Can he have been deceived by Shakespeare, who, in *Henry VI*, Part I, Act I, Scene I, makes the messenger date Pathay on August 10? Allowing for Old Style, Pathay would thus be on August 20, and the previous day would be August 19, as in M. France's work. But Shakespeare is not a good historical authority. The version in *Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 175, 176, increases the difficulties.

P. 164, line 6. Wavrin, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 420.

P. 164, line 10. *Procès*, iv. 416. His words are, on June 17, "*Les Français furent advis de leur venue*" (of the approach of the English) "*eulz environ* 6000, *dont estoient les chefs Jeanne la Pucelle*," etc. Is *eulz* the English or the French? In *Procès*, iv. 419, Wavrin makes the French 12,000 or 13,000 combatants.

P. 164, line 17. Wavrin, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 420.

P. 164, line 24. Dunois, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 10, 11; de Termes, vol. iii. p. 120.

P. 164, line 32. Wavrin, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 420; Monstrelet, ch. lxi. (vol. v. p. 327).

P. 165, line 2. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 71.

P. 165, line 17. Wavrin, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 421.

P. 166, line 21. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 423, 424

P. 166, line 30. D'Alençon, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 99.

P. 166, line 32. Fauquemberque, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 453.

P. 167, line 13. De Coutes, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 71, 72. So stupid is the once gracious page that he dates Jargeau after Pathay!

P. 167, line 28. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 239–240 (Tuetey, 1881).

P. 168, line 3. Monstrelet, v. pp. 332–334 (1860); *Chronique de Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 132.

P. 168, line 6. Lettre de Jacques de Bourbon, *Revue Bleue*, Feb. 13, 1893. Quoted in Ayroles, *La Libératrice*, pp. 367–372.

P. 168, line 9. *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. iv. ciii, 466.

P. 168, line 17. Rymer, *Fœdera*, x. pp. 424–426 (ed. 1710).

P. 168, line 27. Rymer, *Fœdera*, x. pp. 432, 433 (ed. 1710).

P. 170, line 5. *Le Journal du Siège d'Orléans*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 178.

P. 170, line 8. Simon Charles, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 116.

P. 170, line 20. Gruel, Petitot's *Mémoires*, viii. pp. 453–454; *Journal du Siège d'Orléans*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 178; Cosneau, *La Connétable de Richemont*, pp. 172–173.

P. 170, line 24. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 70, 71.

P. 170, line 25. The vague story about Richemont's attempt to take the Maid from the King is given later.

P. 171, line 3. Windecke, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 498.

P. 171, line 7. *Chronique de la Pucelle*, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 246, 247.

P. 171, line 26. Dunois, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 12, 13.

P. 171, line 30. For good or for evil, there would have been no march to Reims if the Maid, who announced it in June 1428, had not accomplished it in July 1429. It is not easy to assert at once that Jeanne d'Arc had no influence in the counsels of the Dauphin and the nobles, and also to maintain that her influence was great and mischievous (France, vol. i. pp. xlix. 453, 454).

P. 171, line 35. Cosneau, *La Connétable*, pp. 174–175.

P. 172, line 9. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 18.

P. 172, line 16. France, vol. i. p. 454.

P. 172, line 20. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 71; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 248.

P. 172, line 31. Reinach reviewing France in *Revue Critique*, March 19, 1908.

P. 172, line 33. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 125.

P. 173, line 3. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 142, 143.

P. 173, line 21. Chartier, in *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 72.

P. 173, line 22. *Le Journal du Siège d'Orléans*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 181.

P. 173, line 25. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxiii. (tome iv. p. 336).

P. 174, line 4. Jean Rogier, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 284–299.

P. 174, line 20. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. ccxlvi–ccxlvii; *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), pp. 233–237.

P. 174, line 27. *Le Journal du Siège d'Orléans*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 182.

P. 175, line 2. Jean Rogier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 287.

P. 175, line 11. Jean Rogier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 288.

P. 175, line 21. Jean Rogier, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 289–290.

P. 176, line 20. Jean Rogier, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 295, 296.

P. 177, line 3. France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 503, note 1.; S. Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. clxxiii–clxxiv, and notes; Viriville, *Charles VII*, vol. ii. pp. viii–x. Some authority may style Madame d'Or a dwarf, Luce makes her a "*gymnasiarque* of incomparable athletic vigour."

P. 177, line 21. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 153, note 5 (cf. pp. 175–178).

P. 177, line 25. Chartier, *Le Journal du Siège*, *Chronique de la Pucelle*, *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 72, 181, 251; town clerk of la Rochelle; *Revue Historique*, vol. iv. p. 341.

P. 177, line 27. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 73.

P. 178, line 27. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 76.

P. 178, line 33. Dunois, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 13, 14.

P. 179, line 3. Simon Charles, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 117.

P. 179, line 15. Dunois, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 13.

P. 179, line 27. Jeanne, *Procès*, vol. i. p. 100.

P. 180, line 2. *Revue Historique*, vol. iv. p. 342; town clerk of La Rochelle.
P. 180, line 8. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 103.
P. 180, line 18. Rogier, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 297, 298.
P. 180, line 19. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 76, 77.
P. 180, line 22. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 391.
P. 180, line 30. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 423.
P. 180, line 35. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 298.
P. 181, line 3. Rogier, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 298, 299.
P. 181, line 28. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 91.
P. 181, line 35. *La Vierge Guerrière*, p. 12.
P. 182, line 7. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. p. 520, citing *Procès*, vol. i. p. 108, a passage which contains nothing on the subject. He also cites the right passage (*Procès*, vol. i. p. 91), but again adds his own legend, that Jeanne boasted of having given a crown, borne by angels, to the King, a crown which was sent to Reims (France, vol. ii. pp. 292, 293).
P. 182, line 24. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 161–163.
P. 182, line 34. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 91. M. Vallet de Viriville supposes that a new rich crown was brought, but lagged behind with the heavy baggage (*Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 96).
P. 183, line 12. La Colombière, *Les Portraits des Hommes Illustres*, Paris, 1664 (cf. Dunand, *Histoire Complète de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 241, note 1). The thirteen gold pieces were struck for the occasion.
P. 183, line 16. Compare Anatole France, vol. i. p. 521, whose account seems to be inaccurate,—the vase was not worth thirteen *écus d'or*, thirteen *écus d'or* were a separate gift,—with Jadart's *Jeanne d'Arc à Reims*, pp. 107–108, and Dunand's *Histoire Complète de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 241, note 1, citing Leber, *Des Cérémonies de Sacre*, p. 420).
P. 184, line 10. Letter of three gentlemen of Anjou, *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 127–131.
P. 184, line 20. *Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 186 and note.
P. 184, line 25. Dunois, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 16.
P. 185, line 29. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 141, 266, 267.
P. 187, line 7. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 130.
P. 187, line 11. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 514–515.
P. 188, line 1. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 126, 127.
P. 188, line 17. Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, p. 24, note 5; Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 101.
P. 188, line 24. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), pp. 240–241.
P. 188, line 26. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 188, note 3.
P. 188, line 27. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxii. (vol. ii. p. 334); *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, p. 189, note 6.
P. 188, line 33. Guillaume de Flavy, pp. 141, 151, 152.
P. 189, line 2. Cf. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 193, note 2.
P. 189, line 5. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 20.
P. 189, line 6. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 20.
P. 189, line 26. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 138, 139.
P. 189, line 30. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 202, note 1; de Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 21.
P. 189, line 34. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 139, 140.

P. 190, line 22. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 139, 140.
P. 191, line 2. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.
P. 191, line 3. Windecke, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 500.
P. 191, line 10. Diary of Fauquemberque, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 453.
P. 191, line 16. Jadart, *Jeanne d'Arc à Reims*, p. 118 (1887, Reims).
P. 191, line 25. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), p. 243.
P. 191, line 31. Fauquemberque, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 453, 454.
P. 191, line 35. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 79; *Le Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 188.
P. 192, line 5. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 79.
P. 192, line 9. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 21; Dunois, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 14.
P. 192, line 14. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 11–12.
P. 193, line 4. Dunois, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 14, 15.
P. 194, line 5. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxv. (tome iv. pp. 340–344).
P. 194, line 13. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 22.
P. 194, line 23. *Bib. Cott. Titus* E.v. f. 372.
P. 195, line 3. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 21.
P. 195, line 24. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxvi. (tome iv. p. 346).
P. 195, line 28. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 22, 23; with less detail, *Le Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 190; Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 81–84.
P. 196, line 7. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.
P. 196, line 26. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 85.
P. 196, line 33. *Le Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 196; Champion *Guillaume de Flavy*, p. 26, note 3.
P. 197, line 5. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 24.
P. 197, line 27. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 41–47; *Procès*, vol. i. p. 82.
P. 198, line 12. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 82, 83.
P. 198, line 21. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 24.
P. 198, line 35. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 103.
P. 199, line 4. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 25.
P. 199, line 10. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 25, 26.
P. 199, line 25. *Extrait d'une Mémoire à Consulter sur Guillaume de Flavy*, *Procès*, vol. v. p. 174.
P. 199, line 33. For details and authorities see Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iv. pp. 332–350; Quicherat, *Nouvelles Preuves des Trahisons Essuyées par la Pucelle*, in *Revue de la Normandie*, VI, June 30, 1866, pp. 396–440; Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, p. 29.
P. 199, line 34. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iv. p. 344.
P. 200, line 3. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxx. (tome iv. p. 354).
P. 200, line 14. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iv. p. 346.
P. 200, line 24. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 234.
P. 200, line 30. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 60.
P. 200, line 35. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), p. 247, note 5.
P. 202, line 8. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 73.
P. 202, line 13. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 454, 455 (Fauquemberque).
P. 202, line 18. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 456 (Fauquemberque).
P. 202, line 22. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 464.
P. 203, line 7. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 28.

P. 203, line 23. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 146, 147.
P. 204, line 9. Fauquemberque, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 460.
P. 205, line 12. Fauquemberque, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 458–460.
P. 205, line 23. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 86.
P. 205, line 32. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 87.
P. 206, line 1. *Le Journal du Siège*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 199.
P. 206, line 10. Barbour, *Bruce*, bk. ix. lines 352–356 and lines 380–389.
P. 206, line 34. *Journal du Bourgeois de Paris*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 465.
P. 207, line 6. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 27.
P. 207, line 14. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 466.
P. 207, line 21. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 466. A contemporary account, in *Arch. Nat. Sect. Hist.*, LL 216 fo. 173, avers that the French had threatened to make a general massacre in Paris. The assault began about one o'clock in the afternoon, and was vigorously pushed, *totis viribus*, till midnight. A few Englishmen and others were wounded, and very few were killed. The losses of the French were great, but they were said to have burned their dead. The writer thinks that they withdrew because the Maid was wounded (Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, pp. 257, 258).
P. 207, line 28. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 87.
P. 207, line 31. *Chroniqueur Normand*, i.; *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 342.
P. 208, line 7. *Delibération du Chapitre de Notre Dame*, in *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), p. 244, note 1.
P. 209, line 7. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 16.
P. 209, line 20. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 27.
P. 209, line 26. Lefèvre-Pontalis, "Un détail du Siège de Paris," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. xlvi. p. 12.
P. 210, line 5. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 29.
P. 210, line 11. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 93. De Coutes, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 73, at Château Thierry, she pursued a woman with her sword, but did not strike her. D'Alençon says that she broke a sword on a girl at St. Denys: he was an eye-witness (*Procès*, vol. iii. p. 99; Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 71). The king was grieved, and said that she should have used a stick.
P. 210, line 13. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 77.
P. 210, line 31. Rymer, *Fœdera*, x. p. 408; *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 136, 137.
P. 211, line 3. Cotton MSS Titus E.v. ff. 372, 373.
P. 211, line 30. I gave this correct account of Bedford's letter before observing that the Abbé Henri Debout, after vainly searching for the letter in our archives, was directed to it by Mr. J. M. Stone (cf. Debout, *Jeanne d'Arc et les Archives Anglaises*, 1895, *Appréciation du Duc de Bedford*, etc.)
P. 212, line 7. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 29, 30.
P. 212, line 9. Martial d'Auvergne, *Procès*, vol. v. p. 71.
P. 212, line 19. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 29, 30.
P. 213, line 8. Quicherat, *Aperçus Nouveaux*, p. 35.
P. 214, line 29. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 85-88.
P. 214, line 34. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 265.
P. 215, line 23. Quicherat, *Rodrique de Villandrando*, p. 58; citing MS. *Chronique des Cordeliers*.

P. 215, line 32. For these worthies see Lowell, *Joan of Arc*, pp. 183, 184.
P. 216, line 1. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 356–357.
P. 216, line 4. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 94.
P. 216, line 9. The people of Moulins were then taxed for supplies. Ayroles, *La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. iv. p. 403; Town Accounts of Moulins.
P. 216, line 13. Ayroles, vol. iv.; *La Vierge Guerrière*, p. 402.
P. 216, line 34. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 217, 218.
P. 217, line 22. *Histoire de Mère Colette*, pp. 337–339, in Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy*, cclxxix, cclxxx.
P. 217, line 28. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 147, 148.
P. 217, line 29. F. Perot, *Bulletin de la Société Arch. de l'Orléanais*, vol. xii. p. 231; *Un Document sur Jeanne d'Arc.*
P. 217, line 35. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 270–272; Villaret, *Campagne des Anglais*, p. 159.
P. 218, line 5. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 356, 357.
P. 218, line 9. Berri, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 48, 49.
P. 218, line 10. Villaret, *Campagne des Anglais*, pp. 111, 112.
P. 218, line 13. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 239 (cf. *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 31, 49).
P. 218, line 17. V. de Viriville, *Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 126. M. de Viriville says that the purchase of La Charité with the 1300 gold crowns of Bourges is proved by "a special document." He cites *Biographie Michaud*, Guillaume de Bastard, but does not give the document, for the excellent reason that no such document is quoted either in the *Biographie Michaud* or in the *Généalogie de la Maison de Bastard.*
P. 218, line 30. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 109.
P. 218, line 32. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 147, 168, 169.
P. 218, line 35. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 298.
P. 219, line 4. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 16.
P. 219, line 9. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 295, 296.
P. 219, line 33. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 106–109.
P. 220, line 11. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 97; citing *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 450. By way of proof that Brother Richard indoctrinated the Maid, we are referred to a passage in which Des Ourches says that she, the Duc de Clermont, and d'Alençon confessed to the Brother at Senlis!
P. 220, line 19. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), pp. 270–272.
P. 221, line 5. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 108, 109.
P. 221, line 24. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 150–154. Passed the Seals on January 6, 1430.
P. 221, line 29. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 117.
P. 222, line 13. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. pp. 263, 264.
P. 222, line 20. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 270; quoting *Arrêts de Parlement*, May 8, 1431. For La Trémoïlle's financings see *Les La Trémoïlle*, vol. i. pp. 136–172.
P. 222, line 26. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. pp. 254, 255.
P. 223, line 5. Town Accounts; *Procès*, vol. v. p. 270.
P. 223, line 8. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 154–156, 271.
P. 223, line 10. Jules Doissel, *Note sur une Maison de Jeanne d'Arc* (*Mem. de la Soc. Arch. et Hist. de l'Orléans*, vol. xv. pp. 494–500).
P. 223, line 17. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 295.

P. 223, line 20. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 268.
P. 223, line 26. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 160.
P. 224, line 3. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 454 (1710), March 9, 1430–1431.
P. 224, line 12. *Appréciation du Duc de Bedford sur Jeanne d'Arc*, by the Abbé Henri Debout, p. 29. Paris (no date), 1895.
P. 224, line 19. *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 274, 275, notes 1–3; *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 251–253 (Tuetey); Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, vol. i. pp. 34–50.
P. 224, line 30. Boucher de Molandon, *Jacques Boucher*. Orléans, 1889. (*Mémoires de la Soc. Arch. d'Orléans*, tome xxii. pp. 373–498.)
P. 224, line 35. The date of this letter is given by Quicherat (*Procès*, v. 156, 159) as March 3. The right date is taken from Th. de Sickel, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Third Series, vol. ii. p. 81 (France, vol. ii. p. 127).
P. 225, line 9. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 161, 162.
P. 225, line 31. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), p. 248. About Oct. 8, 1429.
P. 227, line 10. Document in Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, pp. 155–160.
P. 227, line 16. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 32.
P. 227, line 23. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 134, 135.
P. 227, line 30. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 293, note 3; *Les La Trémoïlle*, vol. i. p. 196.
P. 227, line 35. Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, pp. 37, 38; de Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 32.
P. 228, line 3. Chartier, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 91; Martial d'Auvergne, *Procès*, vol. v. p. 72.
P. 228, line 4. Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, p. 44.
P. 228, line 30. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 253, 254.
P. 229, line 7. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. p. 35, note 2.
P. 229, line 13. Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, p. 158, note 2. M. France, on the other hand, asks, "Did the town refuse to receive her and her company? This appears to have been the case. . . . What disgrace befell her at the gates of the town? Was she beaten by a troop of Burgundians? We know nothing" (France, vol. ii. p. 138). M. Lefèvre-Pontalis held the same view (1901) before the publication of M. Champion's document (1906) (Morosini, vol. iii. p. 295, note 5).
P. 229, line 18. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 32.
P. 229, line 26. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 91.
P. 229, line 34. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxxxiv. (tome iv. p. 384).
P. 230, line 18. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 158, 159. Here for "Burgundian writers" read "an English writer."
P. 230, line 26. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 77, 78.
P. 230, line 33. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 151, 152.
P. 231, line 27. Mrs. Parsons, *Life of St. Colette*, pp. 169–171.
P. 232, line 9. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 105, 106.
P. 233, line 4. *Procès*, vol i. p. 147.
P. 233, line 7. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 147.
P. 233, line 13. *Miracles of Madame St. Catherine of Fierbois*, Lang, pp. 115, 116; *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 164, 165.

P. 233, line 17. Town documents of Senlis, in *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 295, note 5.

P. 234, line 2. Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, pp. 151–154; Charles VII to the Duke of Savoy, Savoy State Papers.

P. 234, line 7. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 139, 140.

P. 234, line 19. Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, pp. 166–168. Charles to the town of Reims, May 6, 1430.

P. 235, line 5. Capitaine Marin, Jeanne d'Arc, *Tacticien et Stratégiste*, pp. 69–76.

P. 235, line 25. For "May 13" read "May 14," following M. Champion.

P. 235, line 28. Sorel, *La Prise de Jeanne d'Arc à Compiègne*, p. 145, note 3.

P. 236, line 3. Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, pp. 39, 40 (cf. pp. 162, 163); *Chronique Anonyme*. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxxxiii. (tome iv. pp. 381–384).

P. 236, line 21. Berri, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 49, 50.

P. 236, line 25. Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy*, p. 42, note 2, and p. 168.

P. 236, line 31. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 273.

P. 236, line 35. Berri, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 50.

P. 237, line 20. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 32, 33.

P. 238, line 3. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 116.

P. 238, line 6. See Bouchart in *Guillaume de Flavy*, pp. 283, 284, and notes.

P. 238, line 16. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 166.

P. 238, line 23. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxxxiii.

P. 239, line 3. Chastellain, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 443, 444.

P. 239, line 4. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 298.

P. 239, line 7. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 114–116.

P. 239, line 13. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxxxvi.

P. 239, line 17. Extrait d'une Mémoire, *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 176, 177.

P. 239, line 30. Chastellain, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 445.

P. 240, line 1. Chastellain, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 446.

P. 240, line 5. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 116.

P. 240, line 16. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 170.

P. 240, line 20. Monstrelet, she set forth at 5 p.m. Burgundy reports *entour six heures* (*Guillaume de Flavy*, p. 170).

P. 241, line 3. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 173.

P. 241, line 6. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 47.

P. 241, line 9. *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 34.

P. 241, line 17. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 177.

P. 241, line 22. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 167.

P. 242, line 6. Monstrelet, lib. ii. ch. lxxxvi.

P. 242, line 10. Sorel, *La Prise de Jeanne d'Arc à Compiègne*, pp. 211–214.

P. 242, line 15. Jean de Luxembourg was most certainly in English pay, and he, under the Anglicised name of John Lusshingburgh had a grant made to him of five hundred *livres d'or* in the ninth year of Henry VI (Bibl. Cotton Cleopatra, F. iv. f. 52 v.). Cited in *Jeanne d'Arc et les Archives Anglaises*, pp. 20, 21, by the Abbé Henri Debout. "Lusshingburgh," on May 13, 8 Henry VI, appears as "*Dominus* Johannes de Lucemburgh."

P. 242, line 25. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 12, 13.

P. 243, line 4. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 9.

P. 243, line 25. See the prayers in Sorel, *La Prise de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 344, 345.

P. 243, line 30. *Ibid.* p. 345.
P. 244, line 17. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 168, 169.
P. 244, line 33. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. p. 185, note 2; citing *Vita Jacobi Gélu ab ipso conscripta*, in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Touraine*, iii. pp. 266 *et seq.* 1867.
P. 245, line 3. De Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii. pp. 251–255. The attempts to find hints that Charles wrote to the Pope, or that he intended to attempt a rescue, are of the most shadowy. In a Latin poem of 1516, an epic on the Maid, the author, Valeran Varanius, versifies a letter which he says that the king wrote long afterwards to Pope Calixtus III. The poet made use of the MSS of the two Trials, 1431, 1450–1456, but we have no proof that the passage from the letter to the Pope was genuine. Again, in March 1431, Dunois was ordered to betake himself to Louviers, within twenty miles of Rouen, then held by La Hire, "to resist the English, who are there in great force." La Hire capitulated shortly after Jeanne was burned, Dunois could not or did not succour Louviers, and nowhere is there a hint that he attempted anything against Rouen.
P. 245, line 15. De Cagny, *Procès*, vol. iv. p. 35.
P. 246, line 3. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 163.
P. 246, line 18. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 14.
P. 247, line 12. Varanius, *Procès*, vol. v. p. 84.
P. 247, line 15. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. pp. 301–303.
P. 247, line 18. *Ibid.* p. 300, note 4.
P. 247, line 25. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 95, 231.
P. 247, line 34. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 231.
P. 248, line 6. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 120–123.
P. 249, line 17. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 150–153.
P. 249, line 21. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iv. Annexe 21.
P. 249, line 30. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), pp. 259, 260.
P. 249, line 32. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey), p. 271.
P. 249, line 35. Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 213, 400.
P. 250, line 5. Æsch, *Choœph.*, p. 978.
P. 250, line 10. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii. p. 185, note 3; citing Hennebert, *Une lettre de Jeanne d'Arc aux Tournaisiens*, in *Arch. Hist. et Litt. du nord de la France*, New Series, vol. i. p. 525. 1837.
P. 250, line 12. M. France quotes, in proof of the generosity of Tournai, *Procès*, i. 95, 96, 231, in which there is not the most distant allusion to the matter. Also Chanoine Henri Debout, *Jeanne d'Arc prisonnière à Arras*, and other works by the learned Canon (France, ii. 219, note 1).
P. 250, line 19. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 194.
P. 250, line 30. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 290, 291.
P. 251, line 5. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 179.
P. 251, line 10. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 192.
P. 251, line 13. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 360, 363.
P. 251, line 23. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 121.
P. 251, line 30. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 15–17.
P. 252, line 1. De la Pierre, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 302.

P. 252, line 7. Cusquel, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 306, vol. iii. p. 180.
P. 252, line 15. Courcelles, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 59.
P. 252, line 18. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 161.
P. 252, line 27. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 122.
P. 252, line 30. Massieu, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 154, vol. ii. p. 18; Daron, iii. p. 200.
P. 253, line 2. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 47.
P. 253, line 5. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 18, 19.
P. 253, line 27. *Roxburghe Club*, 1908.
P. 254, line 16. Mackenzie, *Scottish Law in Matters Criminal*. 1678.
P. 255, line 32. See, for fables of witnesses in 1450–1456, Ch. de Beaurepaire, *Recherches sur la Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 103–119. Rouen, 1869.
P. 256, line 6. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 33, 34.
P. 256, line 22. *Tractatus de Hæresi pauperum de Lugduno*, from Martene, *Thesaurus anecd.*, vol. v. col. 1787, quoted in *Aperçus Nouveaux*, pp. 131, 132.
P. 256, line 29. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 60; Manchon, p. 141.
P. 256, line 31. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 162; Beaurepaire, *Notes sur les Juges*, etc., pp. 81, 82. Rouen, 1890. The tales about the evil deaths of the Judges are folklore.
P. 257, line 4. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 13.
P. 257, line 6. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 162.
P. 257, line 19. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, pp. 103, 104.
P. 257, line 22. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 15.
P. 257, line 28. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, p. 104.
P. 258, line 6. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 30, note 3. His evidence, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 56–62.
P. 258, line 25. *Oratio Curcelli. De Gestis Joannæ*, lib. iv. Valeran Varanius.
P. 259, line 1. *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 197, 200, 209.
P. 259, line 4. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, p. 107.
P. 259, line 19. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 58.
P. 259, line 35. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 11, 12, vol. iii. p. 50.
P. 260, line 5. Houppeville, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 171.
P. 260, line 14. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 27.
P. 260, line 20. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 31, 32, vol. iii. p. 57.
P. 260, line 22. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 136.
P. 260, line 24. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, p. 120.
P. 260, line 30. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 204–323.
P. 261, line 23. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 43.
P. 261, line 28. Rogier, *Procès*, vol. v. pp. 168, 169.
P. 261, line 32. Quicherat avers in his *Aperçus Nouveaux* (p. 109) that it was unjust to refuse the aid of counsel to Jeanne, but that the refusal was justified by the procedure in the case of heretics. The Chanoine Dunand argues that Quicherat misquotes and misinterprets a Decretal of Clement v (1307). See Dunand, *Études Critiques*, Third Series, pp. 339–340, with his documents, pp. 470–476, and his *Jeanne d'Arc et l'Église*, pp. 104, 106. Eymeric's *Directorium Inquisitorum*, *Pars* ii. cap. xi, *Pars* iii. p. 365, with Pegna's *Commentary* (Rome, 1578), may also be consulted. See, too, *Pars* iii. p. 295. The evidence is that, in the century after Jeanne's death, counsel must on no account be refused. In his *Histoire des Tribunaux de l'Inquisition en France*, p. 400

et seq., L. Tanon argues, from a decree of Innocent III, that no counsel was allowed to heretics. The interpretation of this decree by Pegna (1578) is denounced as "a platonic homage to the rights of the accused." Tanon says that, in records, no counsel for the accused is to be found. For the opposite view see Dunand as quoted above. Anatole France, vol ii. p. 329, follows Tanon.

P. 262, line 19. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 45, 46.
P. 263, line 3. Manchon, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 135, 136.
P. 263, line 14. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16.
P. 263, line 17. Beaurepaire, *Recherches sur le Procès*, p. 115.
P. 264, line 1. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 62.
P. 264, line 8. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 65.
P. 264, line 34. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 46–49.
P. 265, line 6. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 50–52.
P. 265, line 32. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 84; De Bourbon-Lignières, *Étude sur Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 252, 253 (cf. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 252, where the phrase *et quod perdent totum in Francia* is textually repeated).
P. 266, line 24. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 80–91.
P. 267, line 4. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 97.
P. 267, line 31. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 91–112.
P. 268, line 5. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 113–122
P. 268, line 21. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 128, 129
P. 268, line 29. *La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 166, 167.
P. 269, line 6. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 130.
P. 269, line 26. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 155.
P. 270, line 4. *Life and Martyrdom of Saint Katherine of Alexandria.* Roxburghe Club, 1884.
P. 270, line 17. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 155, 156.
P. 270, line 31. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 159.
P. 271, line 18. Dunand, *Jeanne d'Arc*, vol iii. p. 159.
P. 272, line 8. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 162.
P. 272, line 12. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 164–166
P. 272, line 24. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 174.
P. 273, line 6. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 175–177.
P. 273, line 18. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 184–186.
P. 273, line 20. Dunand, *Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. iii. p. 173.
P. 273, line 34. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 196.
P. 274, line 5. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 198–200.
P. 274, line 15. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 219.
P. 274, line 35. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 304.
P. 275, line 3. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 317.
P. 275, line 17. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 205, note.
P. 275, line 24. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 196.
P. 275, line 34. De la Pierre, *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 4, 5.
P. 276, line 4. Manchon, the clerk (*Procès*, ii. 13), tells a similar story of the advice given by de la Pierre, Ladvenu, and de la Fontaine, to submit to the Council, and says that Jeanne did appeal, on the following day. But he alters the circumstances; the advice was given in private, in the cell of the Maid. Cauchon discovered her counsellors, de la Fontaine had to fly, the others were in great danger of death.

On a later occasion (*Procès*, ii. 343) Manchon absolutely corroborated de la Pierre. Manchon did not say that he had omitted Jeanne's appeal, but the words "*et requiert* . . ." prove that he did.

P. 276, line 16. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 205.
P. 276, line 19. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 279, 280.
P. 277, line 15. Ayroles, *La Pucelle devant l'Église de son Temps*, p. 225.
P. 278, line 2. *Ibid.*, p. 227; *Procès*, vol. i. p. 445.
P. 278, line 6. Ayroles, *ut supra*, p. 285.
P. 278, line 11. Ayroles, *ut supra*, p. 516.
P. 278, line 12. Ayroles, *ut supra*, p. 522.
P. 278, line 28. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 60, vol. i. pp. 326, 327.
P. 278, line 31. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 222; opinion of de Leliis, vol. ii. p. 22.
P. 278, line 33. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, p. 129.
P. 279, line 5. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 328.
P. 279, line 10. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 201, 217.
P. 280, line 22. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 328, 336.
P. 281, line 9. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 337, 338.
P. 281, line 13. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 339, 340.
P. 282, line 9. The Rouen Cathedral Register; *Procès*, vol. i. p. 353, note 1.
P. 283, line 30. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 374–381.
P. 284, line 23. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 381–399.
P. 284, line 26. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 353–355.
P. 285, line 1. Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, *Scottish Law in Matters Criminal* (1678).
P. 285, line 3. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, vol. ii. p. 581 and vol. iii. pp. 27, 29.
P. 285, line 18. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 399–402.
P. 285, line 30. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 402–404.
P. 285, line 34. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 409.
P. 286, line 7. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 414–417.
P. 286, line 12. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 418.
P. 287, line 24. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 439–441.
P. 288, line 2. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 20, 21.
P. 288, line 10. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 17 (Massieu). In this place Massieu, in 1450, declares that a "schedule of articles" was read by Erard to Jeanne; that she abjured them (the sins imputed to her), and signed with a cross "before she left the place." It was later, in 1456, that he spoke of the schedule as very brief—some eight lines (*Procès*, iii. 156). No one could gather this from his earlier evidence of 1450.
P. 288, line 31. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 442–450.
P. 289, line 6. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 447–448.
P. 289, line 22. Bouchier, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 323.
P. 289, line 30. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 157.
P. 289, line 35. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 355; Marcel, *on hearsay*, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 90; Manchon, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 147; Massieu, vol. iii. pp. 156, 157; Migiet, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 361.
P. 290, line 3. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 356, vol. iii. p. 178.
P. 290, line 4. De la Chambre, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 55.
P. 290, line 7. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 376.

P. 290, line 25. Massieu, *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 17, 331.

P. 290, line 29. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 156.

P. 290, line 35. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 61.

P. 291, line 5. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 52.

P. 291, line 11. *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 146–147.

P. 291, line 13. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 197.

P. 293, line 2. The best argument on this point is that of Chanoine Dunand in his *Jeanne d'Arc et l'Église*, pp. 220–229, where the documents are translated (see also pp. 171–177). As to the form of abjuration, M. Anatole France asserts positively that it was the brief document sworn to by the witnesses in the Trial of Rehabilitation, and that it contained the confession that she had "seduced the people." He does not aver that Jeanne repeated and signed the long formula (France, vol. ii. p. 366). "She submitted to the Church, confessed that she had been guilty of treason, and of misleading the people, and promised not to wear arms, male dress, and short hair." I can find nothing about confessions of treason in the references given (*Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 52, 65, 132, 156–197). Father Wyndham observes that "He who reads only the *Procès de Condamnation* would never suspect there had been any schedule but the *long* one, and he who reads only M. France's book would never imagine that there had been any schedule but the *short* one; M. France has entirely suppressed the long one" (*Dublin Review*, pp. 105, 106, July 1908). M. Anatole France (vol. ii. p. 381) entirely mistranslates the verdict of the Abbé of Fecamp, in *Procès*, vol. i. p. 463, representing the Abbé as saying that the long formula "has been read to" Jeanne, with other errors in construing a very easy piece of Latin. Nor are errors avoided in the translation of the *Dublin Review* of January 1891, quoted without correction by Father Wyndham, *ut supra*.

P. 293, line 10. Dunand, *La Légende Anglaise de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 72. Toulouse, 1902.

P. 294, line 4. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 456, 457.

P. 294, line 24. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, p. 136. Quicherat's theory is that a full abjuration was crammed into a few lines, while the long paper was padded out with legal and theological verbiage. But the confession simply cannot be reduced to the brevity of the short formula.

P. 294, line 30. That her Voices were distinctly audible in the scene on the scaffold proves, once for all, that they were independent of, though they may have been favoured by, the sound of bells and other audible *points de repère*. As it is only too possible to introduce the ludicrous into the deepest of tragedies, M. France's printer has it that when she was on the scaffold "The Voices rose to her, insistent: 'Jeanne, we have such great pity for you! You must revoke what you have said, or we must deliver you over to secular justice. . . . Jeanne, do as you are bid. Do you desire your own death?'" (France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii. pp. 363, 364; citing *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 123). In *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 122, the words, or most of them, are attributed, not to the *Voices*, but to "Midi, who did the preaching." The witness means Erard.

The Voices did not, as in M. France's version, insist on being abjured!

P. 295, line 10. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 123.
P. 296, line 8. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 450–452.
P. 296, line 15. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 14.
P. 296, line 21. Manchon, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 14.
P. 297, line 1. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 19.
P. 297, line 6. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, pp. 112, 113.
P. 297, line 15. Fave, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 376. On hearsay.
P. 297, line 22. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 453.
P. 297, line 25. Massieu, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 155.
P. 297, line 28. Marcel, on Simon's evidence, by report; *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 89.
P. 297, line 33. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 18.
P. 298, line 7. Manchon, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 14.
P. 298, line 10. Massieu, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 158.
P. 298, line 23. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 455, 456.
P. 298, line 28. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 5.
P. 298, line 30. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 365: p. 8, "An English lord forced her"; p. 365, he "tried to force her."
P. 298, line 33. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 149. M. France (vol. ii. pp. 377, 378) wishes to discard all these sworn reports as to attacks on the modesty of Jeanne as mere *propos de cloître et de sacristie*. But Jeanne had said enough when she said that "it was more lawful and convenient for her to wear man's dress when among men." That actual violence had been successfully attempted is not to be credited, because of a later remark of her own; for which, however, the evidence is in the posthumous proceedings, and because, in 1456, Ladvenu admits that this did not occur, though in 1450 he said that it did.
P. 299, line 1. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 18.
P. 299, line 7. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 462.
P. 299, line 21. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 459–467.
P. 299, line 30. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 475.
P. 300, line 4. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 14.
P. 300, line 17. *Procès*, vol. v. p. 427.
P. 300, line 22. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 481; Toutmouillé, 484; Loiselleur, vol. i. p. 484. M. France makes Ladvenu and de la Pierre come first, Loiselleur and Maurice later (France, vol. ii. pp. 382, 383). This is erroneous.
P. 301, line 6. Maurice, *Procès*, vol. i. p. 480.
P. 301, line 12. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 484, 485.
P. 301, line 31. *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.
P. 301, line 34. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 481, 482.
P. 302, line 8. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 482.
P. 302, line 10. Lowell, *Joan of Arc*, p. 336, note 2.
P. 302, line 14. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 483.
P. 302, line 20. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 478, 479.
P. 302, line 29. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 483.
P. 302, line 34. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 484, 485.
P. 303, line 2. *Procès*, vol. i. pp. 484, 485.

P. 303, line 14. *Aperçus Nouveaux*, pp. 140, 141.
P. 304, line 7. *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 14.
P. 305, line 11. Massieu, *Procès*, vol. ii. pp. 19, 334, vol. iii. pp. 114, 158, 159.
P. 305, line 19. Riquier, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 191.
P. 305, line 26. Colles, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 320.
P. 306, line 2. Beaurepaire, *Recherches sur le Procès*, pp. 103, 104.
P. 306, line 8. *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 55.
P. 306, line 16. Fauquemberque, *Procès*, vol. iv. pp. 459, 460.
P. 306, line 17. *Procès*, vol. i. p. 470.
P. 306, line 27. Massieu, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 19. M. Anatole France adds to the reported words of the Maid these: "She asked the pardon of her Judges, of the English, of King Henry, of the English Royal Princes," citing *Procès*, ii. 19, iii. 177 (France, vol. ii. p. 392). These texts contain nothing about the kings and princes.
P. 306, line 31. De la Pierre, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 6.
P. 306, line 32. Massieu, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 20.
P. 306, line 34. Massieu, *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 20.
P. 307, line 11. De la Chambre, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 53; Marguerie, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 185.
P. 307, line 14. Ladvenu, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 170, in answer to a special interrogation.
P. 307, line 17. Bouchier, *Procès*, vol ii. p. 324; de la Chambre, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 53; Massieu, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 159.
P. 307, line 20. This is attested by seventeen witnesses.
P. 307, line 24. Massieu, *Procès*, vol. iii. pp. 159, 160; Marguerie, *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 185.

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